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John's Use of Mark

A Study in Light of Ancient Compositional Practices

By

Elizabeth J. B. Corsar

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I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where it states otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

Elizabeth Corsar

Abstract

This study seeks to explore the perennial New Testament question concerning John's use of Mark's gospel by setting the fourth gospel within the ancient literary culture in which it was written, and interpreting John's use of the Mark in light of ancient compositional practices,. The study is comparative in form and is presented in two parts. Part one explores the theory and practice of source adaptation in ancient compositional practice. It firstly examines the theory of source adaptation set out in the first century CE pedagogical handbooks of the Greek rhetorician Theon and the Roman rhetorician Quintilian. Secondly, this part takes passages from four representative authors whose works are contemporaneous with the fourth gospel and compares the authors' material to their extant source material in order to demonstrate the manner in which they adapted written source material. Firstly, the Greek biographer Plutarch's *Life of Fabius Maximus* will be compared to the source material in Livy's *History of Rome* and his *Life of Nicias* will be compared to the source material in Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Secondly passages concerning Claudius' speech and the admittance of the Gauls into the Senate in the Roman historian Tacitus' *Annals* shall be compared to the source material form the *Acta Senatus,* now preserved on bronze tablets. Thirdly, the character portrayals of Saul and Mattathias in the Jewish historian Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* will be compared to the source material in 1 Samuel and 1 Maccabees. Thirdly, the early Christian author's Gospel of Peter shall be compared the source material in the canonical gospels. From these comparisons it will be shown that these four authors demonstrate a range of techniques to freely adapt source material. These approaches and techniques are collected and catalogued for use in part two. Part two of the study then takes John 1:1-2:22 as a test case and compares the five pericopae within this section of text to the similar material in Mark's gospel and the results of the comparison are explored in light of the results gathered in part one. Following this, the study also accounts for John's use and adaptation of Mark in light of his wider authorial aims. Therefore, the study seeks to positively show that John used and adapted Mark's gospel in a manner in keeping with his literary contemporaries and the literary culture within which they were all writing.

Lay Summary

This study seeks to propose that the author of John's gospel used the gospel of Mark as a source. This is achieved by exploring the theory and practice of source adaptation in ancient compositional practice. Then it is proposed that the similarities and differences between Mark and John make sense on the basis of John's used of Mark and in turn also used adaptive techniques common in ancient compositional practice. It is additionally demonstrated that the adaptations made by John to Mark make sense in light of his wider literary aims.

All primary and secondary sources in this study have been referenced in line with The SBL Handbook of Style Second Edition (Atlanta; GA: SBL Press, 2014).

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Abbreviations

Primary Sources

1 Macc	1 Maccabees
1 Sam	1 Samuel
History of Rome .	Livy, *History of Rome*
Ag.Ap	Josephus, *Against Apion*
Alex.	Plutarch, *Alexander*
Ann.	Tacitus, *Annals*
Ant.	Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*
Demetr.	Plutarch, *Demetrius*
Exod	Exodus
Fab.	Plutarch, *Fabius Maximus*
Gen	Genesis
Gos. Pet	Gospel of Peter
Inst.	Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*
Isa	Isaiah
Jer	Jeremiah
Lev	Leviticus
LXX	Septuagint
Mal	Malachi
Matt	Matthew
MT	Masoretic Text
Nic.	Plutarch, *Nicias*
Num	Numbers
P.W.	Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*

Per.	Plutarch, *Pericles*
Prog.	Theon, *Progymnasmata*
Ps	Psalms
SCPP	Senatus Consultum Cn. Pisone Pater
Zech	Zechariah

Secondary Sources

AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
AThR	*Anglican Theological Review*
BBR	*Bulletin for Biblical Research*
Bib	*Biblica*
BibSac	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CQ	*The Classical Quarterly*
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*
ExpT	*The Expository Times*
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FJTC	Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary
G&R	*Greece & Rome*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
Hermes	*Hermes, Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie*
Hist.	*Historia, Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
ICS	*Illinois Classical Studies*
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
Interp.	*Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology*

JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JTS	*The Journal of Theological Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LNTS	Library for the Study of the New Testament
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
Neot.	*Neotestamentica*
Novum Testam.	*Novum Testamentum*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
Pacifica	*Pacifica: Australasian Theological Studies*
Phoenix	*Phoenix: Journal of the Classical Association of Canada*
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RevExp	*Review & Expositor*
RHM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
RSR	*Religious Studies Review*
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SR	*Studies in Religion*
SNTSMS	Society of New Testament Studies Monograph Series
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*

ThLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TS	*Theological Studies*
TSAJ	*Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism*
TTE	*The Theological Educator*
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
Vig. Chr.	*Vigiliae Christianae*
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

John's use of Mark

The relationship of John to the Synoptic narratives is a fascinating and puzzling problem, which has intrigued and frustrated exegetes not only in modern times but also in antiquity.[1]

Introduction

While there is a great deal of uncertainty surrounding the question of John's use of Mark, there is a good deal of certainty that John's gospel was composed within a literary culture where it was commonplace for authors to draw on written source material and for them to adapt the contents of their source.[2] Therefore, this study seeks to put forward a case for John's use of Mark in light of ancient compositional practices.

Scholarship concerning John's use of the Synoptics over the last century or so has been thoroughly divided. At the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a consensus that John used the gospels of Mark and Luke and possibly Matthew as sources for his own gospel. However, the 1930s saw the publication of P. Gardner-Smith's monograph which in turn led to the near consensus that the fourth evangelist composed his gospel independently from the Synoptic gospels, and at the height of this consensus, D. Moody Smith perhaps somewhat crudely remarks 'almost every knowledgeable exegete would agree about the independence of John.'[3] Yet the 1990s saw the emergence of several studies from the Leuven school which argues for John's use of the Synoptic gospels. Consequently, in light of this work the pendulum appears to be swinging back toward the consensus held in the early 1900s, with Attridge most recently noting 'the fourth gospel emerged amid the competition among first century Christians to find more effective ways of proclaiming their good news. It creatively drew on other efforts, including the Synoptics, but did so with its own distinctive style and theological emphasis.'[4] This study aims to bolster this growing consensus that John used Mark.

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[1] Dwight Moody Smith, *The Theology of the Gospel of John* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 62.

[2] The pioneering work of Aune saw the beginning of the literary texts of the New Testament being studied in light of the literary world from which they had emerged. David E. Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1987).

[3] Dwight Moody Smith, *John Among the Gospels: The Relationship in Twentieth-century Research* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2001), 195.

[4] Harold W. Attridge, "John and Other Gospels," in *The Oxford Handbook of Johannine Studies*, ed. Judith M. Lieu and Martinus C. de Boer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 56.

History of Research

This history of research is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather it seeks to cover some of the main scholarly contributions to the debate concerning the sources which John used along with the manner in which he used them.[5] It also at the end covers the methodological contributions made in Synoptic scholarship concerning ancient source use and adaptation and finally covers the most recent and closely relevant scholarship which acts as the point of departure for this study.

I. The Traditional View

At the turn of the twentieth century the scholarly consensus concerning John's relationship to the Synoptic gospels was that John knew and used Mark and Luke, and possibly, yet much less likely Matthew.[6] One such proponent of this proposal is B.H. Streeter. By means of thorough comparative work, Streeter identifies six particularly striking instances of verbatim agreement found between Mark and John, and he remarks that these instances can 'hardly be explained as accidental.'[7] These instances are laid out below:[8]

> Mark 2:11-12: ἔγειρε ἆρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου... καὶ εὐθὺς ἄρας τὸν κράβαττον ἐξῆλθεν
> John 5:8-9: ἔγειρε ἆρον τὸν κράββατόν σου ... καὶ ἦρε τὸν κράββατον αὐτοῦ καὶ περιεπάτει
>
> Mark 6:37: δηναρίων διακοσίων ἄρτους
> John 6:7: διακοσίων δηναρίων ἄρτοι
>
> Mark 14:3, 5: μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυτελοῦς…τριακοσίων καὶ δοθῆναι
> John 12:3, 5: μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυτίμου…τριακοσίων καὶ ἐδόθη
>
> Mark 14:42: ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν
> John 14:31: Ἐγείρεσθε, ἄγωμεν

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[5] For an excellent overview of the discussion regarding John's relationship to the Synoptic gospels from the early church fathers through to the 18th century see James W. Barker, *John's Use of Matthew* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015), 1-7. Additionally, for an overview of scholarship concerning John's relation to the Synoptics in modern times see Moody Smith, *John Among the Gospels*, 13-194.

[6] B.W. Bacon in 1910 observes, 'i. Matthew is practically ignored; ii. Mark is made the basis; iii. Supplements and changes are made with the large use of Luke both as to motive and material.' Benjamin W. Bacon, *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate: A series of Essays on the Problem Concerning the Origin and Value of the Anonymous Writings Attributed to the Apostle John* (New York: Moffat Yard and Company, 1910), 368. Later in 1924, Streeter similarly notes that 'John did not know Matthew but…John is dependent on Luke as well as Mark.' Burnett H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels a Study of Origins: Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship & Dates* (London: Macmillan & Co Limited, 1930 [1924]), 396. Subsequently, in 1928, J.H. Bernard recognises that '*a* John almost certainly used Mark; *b* that most probably he used Luke…; *c* that there is not good evidence that he used Matthew at all.' John H. Bernard, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1928), cvi.

[7] Streeter, *The Four Gospels a Study of Origins*, 397.

[8] Streeter, *The Four Gospels a Study of Origins*, 397-8.

Mark 14:54: ὁ Πέτρος…θερμαινόμενος
John 18:18: ὁ Πέτρος …θερμαινόμενος

Mark 15:9: Θέλετε ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν τὸν Βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων;
John 18:39: βούλεσθε οὖν ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν τὸν Βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων;

Thus, Streeter concludes 'clearly the facts so far stated amount to little short of a demonstration that John knew the Gospel of Mark, and knew it well.'[9] However, he notes that John did not just simply copy Mark, but rather suggests that the evangelist adapts the material for his own authorial aims:

> John, the preacher, the thinker, the mystic, aiming avowedly at writing, not a biography, but a message meant to burn - 'that believing ye may have life in his name' - was not likely to write, like the other Evangelists, with a copy of Mark or any other document in front of him. The materials he uses have all been fused in the crucible of his creative imagination, and it is from the image in his mind's eye, far more vivid than the written page, that he paints his picture.[10]

II. Challenges to the Traditional View

i. Oral Traditions

The traditional view was significantly challenged by Gardner-Smith whose small and unassuming monograph 'shattered efforts to demonstrate John's literary dependence upon any of the Synoptic Gospels.'[11] Fundamentally, Gardner-Smith criticises his predecessors for their 'curious tendency to concentrate their attention solely on those points on which agreement is manifest, and to ignore the much greater and surely no less significant differences which require to be explained.'[12] In order to account for material presented in the fourth gospel, Gardner-Smith appeals to the notion of oral traditions. He proposes that 'the Church in the first century was largely dependent upon oral traditions for its knowledge of the life of Christ'[13] and that 'local traditions [would not] vanish immediately after the publication of the Gospels.'[14] Moreover, in relation to these oral traditions, Gardner-Smith proposes that John 'probably…adapted accepted [oral] traditions to suit his own purpose.'[15]

In the period following Gardner-Smith's emphatic rejection of John's use of the Synoptic gospels the premise that John was dependent on oral traditions was the

[9] Streeter, *The Four Gospels a Study of Origins*, 400.
[10] Streeter, *The Four Gospels a Study of Origins*, 397.
[11] Quote attributed to Robert Kysar in Joseph Verheyden, "P. Gardner-Smith – The Turn of the Tide," in *John and the Synoptics*, ed. Adelbert Denaux (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), 423. J. Verheyden offers a helpful overview of the reception of Gardner-Smith's monograph in "P. Gardner-Smith – The Turn on the Tide," 432-52.
[12] Percival Gardner-Smith, *Saint John and the Synoptic Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), xi.
[13] Gardner-Smith, *Saint John and the Synoptic Gospels*, x.
[14] Gardner-Smith, *Saint John and the Synoptic Gospels*, xi.
[15] Gardner-Smith, *Saint John and the Synoptic Gospels*, 91.

dominant scholarly position.[16] A significant contributor to this line of thinking during this period was C.H. Dodd. Through his interest in the historical nature of John's gospel, Dodd examines the source material on which John may have drawn, and in turn concludes that John draws on independent oral traditions. Dodd proposes that John draws on oral traditions which were taken from the 'same general store'[17]/ 'same general reservoir'[18] as that from which the Synoptic authors drew, and he suggests that John adapts this common oral tradition to suit his own authorial purposes. He takes examples of discourses and dialogues present in John and in the Synoptics to make this point. For example, Dodd observes the parallelism between the general pattern of the dialogue and the content of the dialogue in Luke 8:31-33 and John 7:3-8. In terms of the pattern of the material in both the Lukan and Johannine pericopae Jesus is approached (Luke 13:31a and John 7:3a), advice is offered to Jesus (Luke 13:31b and John 7:3b), reasons for the advice are given (Luke 13:31c and John 7:4), Jesus rejects the advice (Luke 13:32 and John 7:6), and Jesus gives a reason for his rejection (Luke 13:33 and John 7:8). Additionally, in terms of the content of the dialogue in both pericopae 'Jesus rejects an attempt to dictate his course of action by reference to prudential considerations,' and he also 'affirms, not without some asperity, his independence and sovereign freedom to choose his course.' Moreover, in both dialogues 'there is a hint of approaching climax' and 'some ambiguity about the motives of the interlocutors.' Finally, 'both passages are in some way associated with the move from Galilee to Jerusalem.'[19] In light of these observations and taking into account the differences between the two passages in terms of the interlocutors and the details of their advice, along with the differences in the details of Jesus' rejection, Dodd concludes 'it is probable that this pericope of John…was drawn from the common reservoir, though he has written it up in his own style to serve the purpose of introduction to one of his most elaborate compositions, the sequence of controversial dialogues in chs. vii-viii.'[20]

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[16] Other scholar who hold this position whose contributions are not included in the following discussion are: E.R. Goodenough who states, 'that the author of Jn wrote this story with Mk and Lk before him, and took one phrase from one, another from the other, is of all reconstructions the most artificial. The phenomena of agreements and disagreements in the stories are those of oral transmission, not of documentary dependence.' Erwin R. Goodenough, "John a Primitive Gospel," *JBL* 64 (1945): 153. R. Schnackenburg who argues that 'behind John there is an older tradition going back to 'synoptic' or 'pre-synoptic' times, with many contacts with the synoptic tradition, but still an independent one.' Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John: Introduction and Commentary on chapters 1-4*, trans. Kevin Smyth, 3 vols. (New York: Herder & Herder, 1968), 38. L. Morris who argues that 'the kind of thing that is common to John and the Synoptics is precisely the kind which one would anticipate finding in oral tradition.' Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to John: The English Texts with Introduction, Exposition, and Notes* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), 52.

[17] Charles H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 450.

[18] Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 451.

[19] Charles H. Dodd, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 322-23.

[20] Dodd, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, 324-25.

The view that John was dependent on oral traditions continued throughout the twentieth century. A proponent of this position is B. Lindars who proposes that John depends on 'a similar fund of oral or written material' comparable to that which the Synoptic authors had used,[21] which is comprised of narrative, sayings, and an account of the passion.[22] Much like his predecessors, Lindars suggests that John was an adapter of his material and was 'a writer of considerable originality and creativity.'[23] Lindars seeks to explore the ways in which John adapts his material and offers the following disclaimer - 'for although I do not believe that John writes with the Synoptic Gospels in front of him, there is sufficient overlap of material between John and the Synoptics for useful comparisons to be made.'[24] He therefore proceeds to compare John's account of the healing of the official's son to the accounts in Matthew and Luke of the healing of the centurion's son (John 4:46-54 // Matt 8:5-13 // Luke 7:1-10).[25] He observes that both the Synoptic and the Johannine accounts include a person of significant rank, an individual of lower rank who is depicted as being ill, a request being made to Jesus, and the theme of faith. Moreover, he also observes some differences between the gospels particularly in relation to the motif of faith. For example, in Matthew and Luke 'Jesus responds willingly to the centurion's request, but is hindered by the centurion himself, who then reveals that he believes that Jesus' words alone will be sufficient to achieve the cure,' and after this the story comes to an end. [26] Yet in John, 'Jesus refuses the officer's request, on the ground that he has not shown a deep enough quality of faith, and only after he has tested him in this way utters the word of healing.'[27] Moreover, Lindars recognises that John 'expands the story' as he shows how 'the officer's faith, once evoked by Jesus, was justified, with the result that he and his household became believers in the sense of adherents to Jesus, like converts in the Christian mission.'[28] Thus, Lindars suggests that 'John's different handling of the theme of faith in this pericope is dictated by his own evangelistic intentions.'[29]

The premise that John was dependent on independent oral traditions continued into the late twentieth century. J.D.G. Dunn follows in Dodd's footsteps and argues that the author of the fourth gospel was not dependent on the Synoptic gospels, but rather draws upon Synoptic like traditions.[30] In order to illustrate his premise, Dunn, as his predecessor Lindars had done, takes as an example the healing of the Centurion's son (John 4:46-54) which has parallels in Matthew (Matt 8:5-13) and

[21] Barnabas Lindars, "Traditions behind the Fourth Gospel," in *L'Évangile de Jean: Sources, Rédaction, Théologie*, ed, Marinus de Jonge (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1977), 112.
[22] Lindars, "Traditions behind the Fourth Gospel," 123.
[23] Lindars, "Traditions behind the Fourth Gospel," 123.
[24] Lindars, "Traditions behind the Fourth Gospel," 109.
[25] Lindars, "Traditions behind the Fourth Gospel," 109.
[26] Lindars, "Traditions behind the Fourth Gospel,"110.
[27] Lindars, "Traditions behind the Fourth Gospel," 110.
[28] Lindars, "Traditions behind the Fourth Gospel," 110.
[29] Lindars, "Traditions behind the Fourth Gospel," 111.
[30] James D G. Dunn, "John and the Oral Gospel Tradition," in *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*, ed. Henry Wansbrough., JSNTSup 64 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 353-58.

Luke (Luke 7:1-10). Dunn commences by pointing out eleven points of contact between the Johannine and the Synoptic accounts:

1. Each pericope involves a person of rank: official (John 4:49) and centurion (Matt 8:5 // Luke 7:2).
2. This individual had heard about Jesus (John 4:47a and Luke 7:3a).
3. They 'asked Jesus to come and heal' (John 4:47b and Luke 7:3b).
4. The person to be healed is at some point in each of the pericopae referred to as παῖς (John 4:51 and Matt 8:6, 8, 13 // Luke 7:7).
5. The individual is described as being ill and close to death (John 4:47c and Luke 7:2b).
6. The healing took place in Capernaum (John 4:46 and Matt 8:5 // Luke 7:1).
7. Jesus is portrayed as being hesitant (John 4:48 and Matt 8:7).
8. The word of healing is emphasised in each pericope (John 4:50 and Matt 8:8, 17 // Luke 7:7).
9. The healing took place from a distance (John 4:50-51 and Matt 8:13 // Luke 7:9-10).
10. The healing occurred 'at that hour' (John 4:53 and Matt 8:13).
11. They key theme in the pericope is the faith of the official/centurion (John and Matthew).[31]

In light of these instances, Dunn proposes that the Johannine and the Synoptic accounts 'constitute variants of a single original' with the variants being introduced by the nature of the transmission of oral traditions.[32] Following on from this, Dunn recognises the creativity of the fourth evangelist and demonstrates the evangelist's 'reworking/retelling' of his oral source material:

1. 'So he came again to Cana in Galilee' (John 4:47). John introduces his pericope in his own way so as to connect it with his previous pericope in which Jesus changes water into wine whilst at a wedding in Cana of Galilee (John 2:1-11).
2. He includes his motif of contrasting inadequate belief (John 4:48) to belief grounded in Jesus' word and confirmed by belief (John 4:50, 54) (cf. John 2:23-25).
3. He emphasises his presentation of Jesus' life giving power: 'Your son will live' (John 4:50, 51, 53).[33]

Moreover, in a further example, Dunn analyses the Johannine pericope concerning Jesus' anointing at Bethany (John 12:1-10) which has a parallel in Mark (Mark 14:3-9 cf. Matt 26:6-13). He again begins by noting the points of contact between the two pericopae:

1. In both pericopae the anointing of Jesus occurs in a house in Bethany (John 12:1 and Mark 14:3).
2. The same phrase is used in both pericopae: μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυτελοῦς 'costly ointment of pure nard' (John 12:3 and Mark 14:3).

[31] Dunn, "John and the Oral Gospel Tradition," 359-60.

[32] Dunn, "John and the Oral Gospel Tradition," 360. In a later section of the same chapter, Dunn discusses at some length John's retelling/reworking of his received oral tradition, as he discusses the author of the fourth gospel's distinctive portrayal of John the Baptist, in inclusion of the healing miracles in chapters 5 and 9 and the introduction of the wedding at Cana and the raising of Lazarus, and the elaboration of Jesus' sayings, discourses and dialogues. Dunn, "John and the Oral Gospel Tradition," 373-77.

[33] Dunn, "John and the Oral Gospel Tradition," 360-61.

3. The complaint that is made in each of the pericopae is remarkably similar: Διὰ τί τοῦτο τὸ μύρον οὐκ ἐπράθη τριακοσίων δηναρίων καὶ ἐδόθη πτωχοῖς; 'Why was this ointment not sold for three hundred denarii and given to the poor (John 12:5) and ἠδύνατο γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ μύρον πραθῆναι ἐπάνω δηναρίων τριακοσίων καὶ δοθῆναι τοῖς πτωχοῖς 'for this ointment could have been sold for more than three hundred denarii and given to the poor' (Mark 14:5).
4. Jesus' response in each of the pericopae is also notably close: εἶπεν οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς Ἄφες αὐτήν…εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ ἐνταφιασμοῦ μου…τοὺς πτωχοὺς γὰρ πάντοτε ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε 'therefore Jesus said 'leave her alone'…'for the day of my burial'…'for the poor you always have with you, but you do not always have me' (John 12:7-8) and ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν Ἄφετε αὐτήν…πάντοτε γὰρ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν…ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε…μου εἰς τὸν ἐνταφιασμόν 'and Jesus said 'leave her alone'…'for you always have the poor with you…but you will not always have me'…'for my burial' (Mark 14:6-8).[34]

Thus, Dunn subsequently highlights one of the significant differences between the Johannine and Markan pericopae. He observes that in the fourth gospel it is Jesus' feet that are anointed by the woman (John 12:3) while in second gospel the woman anoints Jesus' head (Mark 14:3). With these aforementioned similarities and this one notable difference in mind, Dunn proposes that the evidence does not suggest that John knows and uses Mark, but rather that the similarities and difference reflect the strengths and weakness of the oral transmission of traditions whereby certain elements would be fixed to create the general story which the evangelist would in turn be able to creatively retell, and where other features would be changed, in this case conflated with a tradition from Luke's similar pericope (cf. Luke 7:38).[35]

Therefore, Gardner-Smith is correct to draw attention to the differences between the fourth gospel and the Synoptics when seeking to appreciate the relationship between the gospels. Additionally, Gardner-Smith, Dodd, Lindars, and Dunn all importantly recognise the literary skill of the fourth evangelist and observe his ability along with the authorial motivations behind the reshaping of his received traditions. However, the studies of Dodd, Lindars, and Dunn seek to demonstrate how the author of the fourth gospel uses independent Synoptic-like oral traditions by comparing passages in John's gospel to parallel passages in the written Synoptic gospels. This approach is similar in form to that which Streeter had previously used to demonstrate John's direct use of Mark's gospel. Thus, through their studies, these scholars have essentially offered convincing suggestions regarding the way in which John appears to have used and adapted written traditions present in the Synoptic gospels. Therefore, it must be considered that it perhaps makes better sense to propose that John draws on and adapts material from the Synoptic gospels, than to surmise that John draws on and adapts hypothetical oral Synoptic-like material. This is somewhat candidly pointed out by C.K. Barrett who writing in the mid twentieth century argues for John's dependence upon the Synoptic gospels:

[34] Dunn, "John and the Oral Gospel Tradition," 365.
[35] Dunn, "John and the Oral Gospel Tradition," 365-67.

> The fact is that there crops up repeatedly in John evidence that suggests that the evangelist knew a body of traditional material that was either Mark, or was something much like Mark; and anyone who after an interval of nineteen centuries feels himself in a position to distinguish nicely between 'Mark' and 'something much like Mark' is at liberty to do so. The simpler hypothesis which does not involve the postulation of otherwise unknown entities, is not without attractiveness.[36]

Each of these aforementioned studies also seems to assume a high degree of stability in relation to the oral traditions on which they propose John draws. This was made explicit by Dunn who proposes that the points of contact, including verbatim agreements, between John and Mark's pericopae concerning Jesus' anointing display fixed elements within the transmitted oral tradition. However, this approach appears to misinterpret the nature of the transmission of oral traditions in antiquity. This critique is voiced by W.H. Kelber, and while he perhaps over-emphasises the discontinuity between Mark as a written gospel and the oral tradition that came before it, his observations concerning the nature of the transmission process of oral traditions are nevertheless valid:

> If orality is perceived as a speaking of living words in social contexts, a concept of a pre-Canonical, Synoptic transmission emerges that is at variance with the paradigm of linearity. In its entirety, the pre-Markan oral tradition diverges into a plurality of forms and directions.[37]

Thus, in light of Kelber's observations and taking the gospels of John and Mark as examples, the numerous similarities between the two gospels (from beginning to end the gospels share features which range from structural parallels to verbatim agreements) are perhaps more indicative that John draws on Mark than that both Mark and John managed to draw on strikingly similar traditions given the nature of the oral transmission process.

ii. Independent Written Traditions

In a further challenge to the traditional view, R. Bultmann proposes that John composes independently of the Synoptic gospels and that the author of the fourth gospel draws upon independent written traditions. Bultmann seeks to reconstruct the written sources which he proposes lie behind John's gospel by seeking to ascertain Johannine redaction on the basis of stylistic features, and he lifts this to reveal the

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[36] Charles K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text* (London: SPCK, 1978), 45.

[37] Werner H. Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1997), 33. Additionally, more recently E. Eve has also questioned the stability of oral traditions prior to the oral traditions which circulated following the writing of Mark's gospel: 'the relative stability of the Synoptic tradition in the last third of the first century cannot be use as a direct indication of the stability of the entire Jesus tradition from its inception to the writing down of the first surviving texts in which we find it.' Eric Eve, *Behind the Gospels: Understanding the Oral Tradition* (London: SPCK, 2013), 112.

original written source.[38] Two major sources which Bultmann proposes are the *Revelation Discourse Source*[39] and the *Signs Source.*[40] Moreover, he further suggests that John also draws on a written Hymn for his prologue,[41] a written passion narrative,[42] and individual written pericopae relating to the Temple cleansing,[43] the anointing of Jesus,[44] and the triumphal entry.[45] Additionally, with the *Revelation Discourse Source* as an example, Bultmann demonstrates the literary creativity of the fourth evangelist as he proposes that the author of the fourth gospel composes and adds two of his own scenarios: 'I am the light of the world' (John 8:12),[46] and 'I am the door to the sheep' (John 10:7-10).[47] Additionally, he suggests that with the theme of *Revelation Discourses* in mind, John creates similar pericopae elsewhere in his gospel: namely, Jesus' interaction with Nicodemus concerning whether one could be born again (John 3:2-15),[48] and John the Baptist's exaltation of Jesus (John 3:22-36).[49]

Moreover, R.T. Fortna develops Bultmann's proposal of a *signs source,*[50] but he goes further and proposes that John does not merely draw on a 'collection of miracle

[38] Rudolph Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, trans. George R. Beasley-Murray, Rupert W N. Hoare, John K. Riches (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1971).

[39] The *Revelation Discourse Source* includes:

- You must be born again (John 3:3) Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 132.
- The water of eternal life (John 4:13-14) Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 18,6 n.3.
- I am the bread of life (John 6:35-40) Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 226, n.1.
- My time has not yet come (John 7:6-8) Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 292, n.1.
- I am the good shepherd (John 10:14-18) Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 360, 363, n.4.
- I am the resurrection and the life (John 11:25-26) Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 402, n.3.
- The hour has come (John 12:22-23) Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 420.

[40] The *Signs Source* includes:

- The wedding at Cana (John 2:1-11) Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 113.
- The healing of the Official's son (John 4:46-54) Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 180.
- The feeding of the 5000 and the walking in water (John 6:1-21) Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 211.
- The healing of the blind man (John 9:1-41) Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 239.
- The raising of Lazarus (John 11:1-16) Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 395.

[41] Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 132, n. 2.

[42] Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 635.

[43] Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 122.

[44] Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 413.

[45] Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 413.

[46] Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 342, n.3.

[47] Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 359, n.1.

[48] Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 132.

[49] Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 167-68.

[50] W. Nicol also follows Bultmann by proposing that John drew upon a *semeia source*. Willem Nicol, *The Semeia in the Fourth Gospel: Tradition and Redaction* (Leiden: Brill, 1972). Additionally, U.C. von Wahlde follows Bultmann by suggesting that the first edition of John's gospel was a signs source. Urban C. von Wahlde, *The Earliest Version of John's Gospel: Recovering the Gospel of Signs* (Wilmington; DE: Glazier, 1989). L.M. Wills similarly argues that John is dependent on an independent written source which he reconstructs through piecing together all the parallels in Mark and John. He posits that this source is an 'aretalogical biography associated with cult' similar in nature

stories' as his predecessor had suggested, but rather argues that the fourth evangelist draws on 'a rudimentary gospel, complete with passion narrative'[51] – a *Signs Gospel* (SG).[52] By distinguishing between the source and John's redactional activity, Fortna proposes that the main purpose of the *Signs Gospel* was to allow 'Jesus' miracles [to be] viewed as messianic signs.'[53] Taking into consideration the content of this hypothetical source, Fortna emphasises John's literary creativity. He deems the miracles in the *Signs Gospel* to have very little symbolic meaning.[54] Thus, crediting John as working with 'powerful creativity',[55] he proposes that the author of the fourth gospel 'greatly enhances the significatory element in the source's miracles.'[56] For example, in the *Signs Gospel*, Jesus was the sole initiator of the miracles and 'they were presented simply to call attention to him',[57] whereas in John's gospel it is on account of Jesus' divine status that he initiates the miracles and 'it is only his divine origin that accounts for the signs.'[58]

Although Bultmann and Fortna importantly draw attention to John's literary creativity when it came to written texts, the written texts themselves which they propose the author of the fourth gospel worked with are wholly hypothetical and unidentifiable and are reconstructed entirely out of the text of John's gospel. In regard to Bultmann's proposals, Moody Smith remarks 'it may be argued that his method is circular and therefore invalid. He has only the somewhat ambiguous internal evidence of the document itself and no external evidence upon which to base his arguments.'[59] Additionally, in relation to the theology of Fortna's *Signs Gospel*, Lindars comments 'the theology of the source is a pale ghost of John himself.'[60] Finally, many of the hypothetical written sources which Bultmann and Fortna reconstruct from the contents of the fourth gospel are pieces of material which are present in the Synoptic gospels: the prologue, Jesus' miracles, the temple action, the anointing, the triumphal entry, and the passion narrative. Thus, in these instances the simpler hypothesis has to be to suppose that John draws on material from the written Synoptics and not from hypothetically reconstructed written sources.

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to the *Life of Aesop*. He posits the likelihood for the existence and use of such a source by Mark and John on the basis of 'the discovery of a complete text of the Gospel of Thomas strengthened the arguments for the existence of Q.' Lawrence M. Wills, *The Quest for the Historical Gospel: Mark, John, and the Origins of the Gospel Genre* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), 51, 153-54.

[51] Robert T. Fortna, "Source and Redaction in the Fourth Gospel's Portrayal of Jesus' Signs," *JBL* 89 (1970): 151.

[52] Robert T. Fortna, *The Gospel of Signs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

[53] Fortna, "Source and Redaction in the Fourth Gospel's Portrayal of Jesus' Signs," 151.

[54] Fortna, "Source and Redaction in the Fourth Gospel's Portrayal of Jesus' Signs," 152.

[55] Robert T. Fortna, *The Fourth Gospel and its Predecessor* (London: T&T Clark, 1988), 224.

[56] Fortna, "Source and Redaction in the Fourth Gospel's Portrayal of Jesus' Signs," 153.

[57] Fortna, "Source and Redaction in the Fourth Gospel's Portrayal of Jesus' Signs," 155.

[58] Fortna, "Source and Redaction in the Fourth Gospel's Portrayal of Jesus' Signs," 155.

[59] Dwight Moody Smith, *The Composition and Order of the Fourth Gospel: Bultmann's Literary Theory* (Eugene; OR: Wipf Stock, 2015), 14.

[60] Barnabas Lindars, *Behind the Fourth Gospel* (London: SPCK, 1971), 38.

III. The Return to the Traditional View

In the mid twentieth century the near unanimous chorus arguing for John's dependence on independent written or oral sources was broken by Barrett. In his commentary, Barrett states, 'I do not share now what is the popular opinion.'[61] Rather, as his predecessor Streeter had done, Barrett posits that 'where Mark and John agree closely together, as occasionally they do, there is no simpler or better hypothesis than that John drew his material from Mark.'[62] In turn, Barrett draws attention to the important structural and verbal parallels between John and Mark, which had before often been overlooked, and he sets out a list of key examples to support his position. Although these examples do not form an exhaustive list, they are illustrative of two types of literary borrowing on the part of John from Mark's account. Barrett identifies these two forms of literary dependence as examples where (1) John shares the same order as Mark,[63] and (2) where John shares the same vocabulary as Mark:[64]

1.

	Mark	John
The work and witness of John the Baptist	1:1-4	1:19-36
Departure to Galilee	1:14f.	4:3
Feeding of the Multitude	6:34-44	6:1-13
Walking on the Lake	6:45-52	6:16-21
Peter's Confession	8:29	6:68f.
The Departure to Jerusalem	9:30f.; 10:1,32,46	7:10-14
The Entry	11:1-10	12:12-15
The Anointing	14:3-9	12:1-8[65]
The Last Supper, with predictions of betrayal and denial	14:17-26	13:1-17.26
The Arrest	14:43-52	18:1-11
The Passion and Resurrection	14:53-16.8	18:12-20:29

[61] Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 43. Other commentators who follow Barrett and argue for John's use of the Synoptic gospels are, Hartwig Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005). Andrew T. Lincoln, *The Gospel according to St John* (London: Continuum, 2005); Udo Schnelle, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes.*, ThNT 4 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1998).

[62] Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 15-6.

[63] Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 43.

[64] Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 44-5.

[65] Barrett suggests that this transposition of Jesus' entry in Jerusalem and Jesus' anointing is accounted for by John's theology as for John 'it is as anointed king that Jesus rides into Jerusalem, and anointed king that he dies (John 18:33-40; 19:1-6, 12-16,19).' Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 409.

2.

Mark	John
John the Baptist: …ἔρχεται ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου ὀπίσω μου, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς κύψας λῦσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ (Mark 1:7,8,10,11).	*John the Baptist*: ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ [ἐγὼ] ἄξιος ἵνα λύσω αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος (John 1:27).
Feeding the Multitude: …ἀπελθόντες ἀγοράσωμεν δηναρίων διακοσίων ἄρτους…πέντε, καὶ δύο ἰχθύας…ἦραν κλάσματα δώδεκα κοφίνων πληρώματα…πεντακισχίλιοι ἄνδρες (Mark 6:37, 38, 43, 44).	*Feeding the Multitude*: διακοσίων δηναρίων ἄρτοι...πέντε ἄρτους κριθίνους καὶ δύο ὀψάρια… οἱ ἄνδρες τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὡς πεντακισχίλιοι… δώδεκα κοφίνους κλασμάτων… (John 6:7, 9-10,13).
Walking on the Lake: …θαρσεῖτε, ἐγώ εἰμι· μὴ φοβεῖσθε (Mark 6:50).	*Walking on the Lake*: ἐγώ εἰμι· μὴ φοβεῖσθε (John 6:20).
Peter's Confession: …ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Πέτρος λέγει αὐτῷ· σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός (Mark 8:29).	*Peter's Confession*: …σὺ εἶ ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ (John 6:69).
The Entry: … ὡσαννά· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου·…εὐλογημένη ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δαυίδ….(Mark 11:9-10).	*The Entry*: … ὡσαννά·εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, [καὶ] ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ (John 12:13).
…ἔχουσα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυτελοῦς… (Mark 14:3).	…λαβοῦσα λίτραν μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυτίμου…(John 12:3).
ἠδύνατο γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ μύρον πραθῆναι ἐπάνω δηναρίων τριακοσίων καὶ δοθῆναι τοῖς πτωχοῖς… (Mark 14:5).	διὰ τί τοῦτο τὸ μύρον οὐκ ἐπράθη τριακοσίων δηναρίων καὶ ἐδόθη πτωχοῖς; (John 12:5).
πάντοτε γὰρ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ ὅταν θέλητε δύνασθε αὐτοῖς εὖ ποιῆσαι, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε. ὃ ἔσχεν ἐποίησεν· προέλαβεν μυρίσαι τὸ σῶμά μου εἰς τὸν ἐνταφιασμόν (Mark 14:7-8).	...ἄφες αὐτήν, ἵνα εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ ἐνταφιασμοῦ μου τηρήσῃ αὐτό. τοὺς πτωχοὺς γὰρ πάντοτε ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε (John 12:7-8).
Last Supper: …ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με ὁ ἐσθίων μετ' ἐμοῦ…. (Mark 14:18).	*Last Supper*: …ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με (John 13:21).
…ἀμὴν λέγω σοι ὅτι σὺ σήμερον ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ πρὶν ἢ δὶς ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι τρίς με ἀπαρνήσῃ (Mark 14:30).	…ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, οὐ μὴ ἀλέκτωρ φωνήσῃ ἕως οὗ ἀρνήσῃ με τρίς (John 13:38).
Arrest: εἷς δέ [τις] τῶν παρεστηκότων σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν ἔπαισεν τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἀφεῖλεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὠτάριον (Mark 14:47).	Arrest: Σίμων οὖν Πέτρος ἔχων μάχαιραν εἵλκυσεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἔπαισεν τὸν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως δοῦλον καὶ ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὠτάριον τὸ δεξιόν… (John 18:10).
Passion and Resurrection: …ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (Mark 15:26).	*Passion and Resurrection.*: Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (John 19:19).

Barrett deems these parallels not only to be 'sufficient to make plausible the view that John had read Mark,' but also to suggest that John 'had thought that [the gospel] contained a suitable gospel outline' which he in turn employed.[66] Moreover, Barrett

[66] Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 43.

importantly draws attention to the fact that 'John did not 'use' Mark, as Matthew did,'[67] as he did not use Mark 'slavishly'[68] as might be said of Matthew. Rather he highlights that John could have used Mark, but just in a different way:

> John used freely what Marcan material suited his purpose. He omitted a great deal of Mark, and included much not contained in Mark. When he was simply narrating an incident contained in Mark, he naturally re-called and repeated a number of Marcan words and phrases; but the Marcan material remained subject to his own main purpose and plan.[69]

Barrett's positive view toward John's use of the Synoptic gospels was shared in Belgium by the Leuven school who consequently sought to demonstrate John's use of the Synoptics through employing redactional critical methods.

i. Redaction Criticism

F. Neirynck shares Barrett's views as he states in his own work that it was 'not traditions lying behind the Synoptic Gospels but the Synoptic Gospels themselves [which were] the sources of the Fourth Evangelist.'[70] Moreover, he recognises the effort of commentators keen to argue for John's use and knowledge of the Synoptics who 'abundantly' set out the parallels between John and the Synoptic gospels, and despite these in themselves being important features for ascertaining John's use of the Synoptics, Neirynck notes that these observations do not alone go far enough. Instead, he argues that redactional critical methods, which are 'scarcely' used, must also be employed in order to make full sense of the parallels as it was important to give plausible account of the similarities and differences between John and the Synoptics on the basis of John's authorial aims.[71]

M. Sabbe, a colleague of Neirynck, takes up this challenge. Through a series of articles, focusing mainly on material in the Synoptic passion narratives, Sabbe offers extensive examples of instances where John appears to draw material from the

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[67] Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 43.

[68] Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 16.

[69] Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 16.

[70] Frans Neirynck, "John and the Synoptics," in *L'Évangile de Jean: Sources, Rédaction, Théologie*, ed. Marinus de Jonge (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1977), 106.

[71] Neirynck's proposal responds to the arguments of scholars who propose that the differences between John and the Synoptics were on the basis of common oral traditions being employed, and that the differences could not be accounted for on the basis of John adapting the written Synoptic texts. For example, R.E. Brown argues that John drew on 'independent primitive tradition.' He is of the opinion that if John had known and used a written Synoptic text he had 'changed, added, and subtracted' his material 'gratuitously,' and the resultant text would have been the work of a 'careless and capricious' author. He also posits that for John to have drawn selectively, or as he described it 'eclectically,' from the synoptic texts was unreasonable and erroneous. Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John I-XII: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 2 vols., ABC 29 (New York: Doubleday, 1966), xlii. Additionally, Moody Smith strongly argues that 'the attempt to account for John's rendition of a specific narrative on the hypothesis that he had a Synoptic version before him and was deliberately employing and changing it often leads to torturous exegesis.' Dwight Moody Smith, *John* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 11.

Synoptics and redacts it to suit his own authorial aims. Selected examples from some of Sabbe's various articles are presented below:

– John 10:22-39

The Synoptic evangelists present the Sanhedrin – the chief priests, the scribes, and the elders – questioning Jesus (Mark 14:53 // Matt 26:57 // Luke 22:66), while John presents Jesus' questioners as 'the Jews' (John 10:24, 31). Sabbe proposes that John redacts this material as 'the Jews' is a typical Johannine feature.[72] Additionally, Luke depicts the chief priests and the scribes saying to Jesus 'if you are the Christ, tell us' (Luke 22:67a), whilst John describes 'the Jews' saying to Jesus 'if you are the Christ tell us plainly' (John 10:24b). Sabbe suggests that John redacts the material as the use of the adjective 'plainly' (παρρησίᾳ) is a Johannine literary feature (cf. John 18:20).[73] Moreover, Luke portrays Jesus responding 'if I tell you, you will not believe' (Luke 22:24a) which is followed with dialogue concerning Jesus' identity as the Son of God (Luke 22:69-71), while John presents Jesus replying 'I told you and you do not believe' (John 10:25a) which is followed with thoroughly Johannine material: Jesus' works are the works of the Father and bear witness about him (John 10:25b, 38), Jesus and the Father are one (John 10:30), and eternal life (John 10:28). Sabbe proposes that John redacts the material to include his own Johannine theology and christology.[74]

– John 12:1-8

Luke depicts a sinful woman anointing Jesus' feet and presents her weeping and wiping his feet with her hair (Luke 7:36-38), whilst John describes Mary the sister of Martha and Lazarus anointing Jesus and wiping his feet with her hair (John 13:3). Sabbe proposes that John redacts this by introducing the woman as Mary and omitting her weeping at this point so that he might portray Mary weeping at the tomb (John 20:11, 13, 15).[75] Moreover, Mark and Matthew portray the woman at Bethany pouring an alabaster jar of ointment over Jesus (Mark 14:3 // Matt 27:7), while John presents the woman in Bethany pouring a 'pound' (λίτρα) of ointment over Jesus (John 12:3). Sabbe suggests that John redacts this material in light of his 'preference for numbers'.[76] Furthermore, Mark and Matthew describe Jesus speaking of the gospel in the world and the remembrance of the woman's deed (Mark 14:9 // Matt 26:13), whilst John has no mention of this at all. Sabbe proposes that John redacts

[72] Maurits Sabbe, "John 10 and its relationship to the Synoptic Gospels," in *The Shepherd Discourse of John 10 and Its Context*, ed. Johannes Beutler and Robert T. Fortna (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 76.
[73] Sabbe, "John 10 and its relationship to the Synoptic Gospels," 79.
[74] Sabbe, "John 10 and its relationship to the Synoptic Gospels," 80-81.
[75] Maurits Sabbe, "The Anointing of Jesus in John 12.1.8 and its Synoptic Parallels," in *The Four Gospels 1992*, ed. Frans van Segbroeck, et al.,(Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), 2073.
[76] Sabbe, "The Anointing of Jesus in John 12.1.8 and its Synoptic Parallels," 2060.

this tradition as 'in his theological view he prefers another vocabulary such as manifestation, knowledge, eternal life.'[77]

– John 18:1-11

Mark and Matthew present Jesus' anguish in Gethsemane and his disciples' presence there with him (Mark 14:32-42 // Matt 26:36-46), whilst John simply notes that Jesus went across the Kidron valley with his disciples (John 18:1). Sabbe proposes that John redacts this material as 'to speak of the agony of Jesus at this moment, is not fitting when he wants to emphasise the majesty of the Lord freely approaching his passion and death.'[78] Moreover, the Synoptic evangelists present Judas coming forward with soldiers, and Luke presents Jesus speaking (Mark 14:43 // Matt 26:47 // Luke 22:47), while John similarly presents the soldiers coming with Judas, but he also presents Jesus 'knowing all that would happen to him' and asking the soldiers 'who do you seek' (John 18:4). Sabbe suggests that John redacts this tradition as the motif of Jesus' foreknowledge is characteristically Johannine (John 16:13, 30-32; 18:4; 19:28) and the theme of seeking Jesus is common in the fourth gospel (John 5:18; 7:11, 19-20, 25, 30; 8:37, 40; 10:39; 11:8).[79] Furthermore, in the Synoptics, the authors narrate that a disciple cut off the ear of one of the High Priest's soldiers (Mark 14:47 // Matt 26:52 // Luke 22:50), while John names the disciple as Peter and names the solider as Malchus (John 18:10). Sabbe proposes that John redacts this material as 'it is one of John's favourite redactional techniques to come out with personal and topographical precisions.'[80] Therefore, Sabbe concludes 'for a better understanding of the relation between John and the Synoptic Gospels and for a more homogenous explanation of John's text as a whole, the awareness of the redactional creativeness of John combined with direct dependence upon the Synoptics is more promising.'[81]

– John 19:16b-42

In the Synoptic gospels, Jesus is crucified on Passover, while John situates Jesus' death on the day of preparation (John 19:13). Sabbe proposes that John redacts this material so as to fulfil his motif of presenting Jesus as the Paschal lamb.[82] Additionally, the Synoptic evangelists depict women standing at a distance from the cross (Mark 14:40 // Matt 27:55 // Luke 23:49), whilst John presents Jesus' mother and the Beloved Disciple standing at the foot of the cross and portrays Jesus telling the Beloved Disciple to take his mother as his own (John 19:26-27). Sabbe suggests

[77] Sabbe, "The Anointing of Jesus in John 12.1.8 and its Synoptic Parallels," 2068.
[78] Maurits Sabbe, "The Arrest of Jesus in Jn 18,1-11," in *L'Évangile de Jean: Sources, Rédaction, Théologie*, ed. Marinus de Jonge (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1977), 207.
[79] Sabbe, "The Arrest of Jesus in Jn 18,1-11," 217.
[80] Sabbe, "The Arrest of Jesus in Jn 18,1-11," 223.
[81] Sabbe, "The Arrest of Jesus in Jn 18,1-11," 233.
[82] Maurits Sabbe, "The Johannine account of the death of Jesus and its Synoptic Parallels (Jn 19.16b-42)," *ETL* 70 (1994): 37-41.

that John redacts this material so that it may fit with his notion of a Christian family/community and not being left as orphans (cf. John 14:18).[83] Moreover, Mark describes the centurion confessing his belief that Jesus is the Son of God (Mark 15:39b), while John presents the solider who pierced Jesus' side confessing to seeing the blood and water emerge from Jesus' side – thereby confessing that Jesus is the source of eternal life (John 19:24) – and in turn portrays the Beloved Disciple as the author of the gospel authenticating the witness of the solider (John 19:35). Sabbe proposes that John redacts the tradition so that it might fit with John's presentation of the Beloved Disciple as the truthful witness and author of the gospel (John 21:24).[84] Finally, Mark and Matthew depict Jesus crying out begging to know why he had been forsaken (Mark 15:34 // Matt 27: 46), while John describes Jesus calmly stating 'it is finished' (John 19:20). Sabbe suggests that John redacts the material so that Jesus' actions might be in keeping with the completion of his mission given to him by the Father (cf. John 3:16-21).[85]

Sabbe's approach produced positive results and the redactional critical method has since been utilised by other scholars who seek to demonstrate the fourth evangelist's direct use of the Synoptic gospels. One such scholar, M. Lang, in his monograph similarly takes the Johannine passion narrative as a test case and through a detailed exegesis of the Johannine narrative demonstrates that the author of the fourth gospel is directly dependent on the Markan and Lukan passion narratives and he also explains how the evangelist reworks this material to suit his own authorial aims. Lang illustrates instances where John appears to draw directly on Mark (e.g. John 19:15, 17-18 and Mark 1:45), on Luke (e.g. John 20:19-20 and Luke 24:36, 40-41a) and on both Mark and Luke (e.g. John 18:10-11 and Mark 14:47 and Luke 22:50), and also where he seems to be influenced by Mark (e.g. John 18:4-9 and Mark 14:45) and by Luke (e.g. John 18:15-16a and Luke 23:25). Additionally, he demonstrates instances where the fourth evangelist appears to draw and redact material from Mark (e.g. John 19:26-28 and Mark 15:38) and from Luke (e.g. John 20:24-29 and Luke 24:41b-43) and from both (e.g. John 19:20-23 and Mark 15:24b and Luke 23:35-43). Finally, Lang sets out to illustrate instances where the author of the fourth gospel appears to draw on 'community material' (e.g. John 18:1-3).[86]

Moreover, Lang seeks to account for John's redactional activity by exploring Johannine motifs so that he might account for some of the evangelist's changes to the Markan and Lukan material. Some of his examples shall now be shown. Firstly, Lang looks at John's consistent use of hyperboles (e.g. John 2:6 – twenty to thirty gallons of purification water; John 5:5 – an invalid for thirty-eight years; John 9:1 – a man blind from birth; John 11:39 – Lazarus dead for four days). Thus, he notes that

[83] Sabbe, "The Johannine account of the death of Jesus and its Synoptic Parallels," 43.

[84] Sabbe, "The Johannine account of the death of Jesus and its Synoptic Parallels," 49-50.

[85] Sabbe, "The Johannine account of the death of Jesus and its Synoptic Parallels," 63.

[86] Manfred Lang, *Johannes Und Die Synoptiker: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Joh 18-20 vor dem markinischen und lukanischen Hintergrund* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 349-53.

in Mark's gospel that author depicts Joseph of Arimathea taking Jesus' body and wrapping it in a shroud (Mark 15:49), while John draws on Mark and in light of his fondness for hyperboles redacts Mark's material and depicts Joseph of Arimathea taking Jesus' body and also introduces and describes Nicodemus bringing seventy-five pounds of myrrh and aloes (John 19:38-39).[87] Secondly, Lang explores John's motif of Jesus' voluntary death (e.g. John 2:4, 21, 23; 5:25; 7:30; 8:20; 12:23, 27; 13:1; 16:2, 4, 25) – Jesus knows and accepts that his hour will come; John 3:14; 8:28; 12:32 – Jesus knows and accepts that he must be lifted up. Therefore, Lang notes that in Luke's gospel the evangelist describes Jesus on the cross declaring 'Father into your hands I commit my spirit' and conveys that after this Jesus gave up his spirit (Luke 23:39), whilst John draws on Mark and on the basis of his motif of Jesus' voluntary death depicts Jesus on the cross declaring 'it is finished' and portrays that after this Jesus gave up his spirit' (John 19:30).[88] Thirdly, Lang looks at John's motif of Jesus' innocence as he noted that John appears to redact both Mark and Luke, as within the Roman trial scenes the author includes new material whereby he presents Pilate on two occasions telling 'the Jews' that he finds Jesus free of guilt (John 18:38b; 19:4, 6).[89] Fourthly, Lang observes John's motif in which Jesus is depicted as the one who must die on behalf of the people (e.g. John 11:50 – Caiaphas prophesises that it is better for one man to die on behalf of many). Thus, he notes that John appears to redact both Mark and Luke, as within the token Jewish trial scene the evangelist introduces new material in which he iterates that it was Caiaphas who had prophesised concerning Jesus' death (John 18:14).[90] Fifthly, Lang looks at John's motif of kingship (e.g. John 1:49 – Nathanael declares Jesus to be the king of Israel; John 12:12ff – Jesus is treated like a king when he enters Jerusalem). Therefore, he notes that in Mark's gospel the author presents Pilate asking Jesus 'are you the King of the Jews?' (Mark 15:2), while John draws on Mark in line with his motif of Jesus' kingship and describes Pilate asking Jesus if his is king of the Jews (John 18:33) and then again asking if Jesus is a king (John 18:37) and includes new material in which he depicts Jesus speaking of his kingdom not being of this world (John 18:36).[91] Finally, Lang observes John's motif of fulfilment (e.g. John 13:18; 17:12 – Judas and his betrayal fulfil scripture). He notes that in Mark's gospel the author describes Jesus being given sour wine to drink by the Roman soldiers (Mark 15:36), while John draws on Mark and in light of his motif of fulfilment describes Jesus' thirst and the Roman soldiers giving him sour wine as the fulfilment of scripture (John 19:28-29).[92]

Another scholar who seeks to explore John's use of the Synoptics by employing redactional critical methods is S.A. Hunt. Hunt takes the feeding narrative in John 6:1-15 and the parallel pericopae in the Synoptics (Mark 6:30-44 // Matt 14:13-21 //

[87] Lang, *Johannes Und Die Synoptiker*, 308-11.
[88] Lang, *Johannes Und Die Synoptiker*, 331-34.
[89] Lang, *Johannes Und Die Synoptiker*, 314-16.
[90] Lang, *Johannes Und Die Synoptiker*, 316-18.
[91] Lang, *Johannes Und Die Synoptiker*, 318-22.
[92] Lang, *Johannes Und Die Synoptiker*, 322-28.

Lk 9:10-17) as a test case and begins his study by calculating the instances of verbal agreements and word order agreements between John and the Synoptic gospels. Through conducting this detailed work, Hunt demonstrates that John has a relatively high percentage of textual and lexical words in common with the Synoptics, while he has a relatively low percentage of word order agreements with them.[93] Thus, on this basis, Hunt proposes that John writes with the Synoptic gospels in front of him, but that he carefully rewrites the narratives to suit his own authorial aims. Subsequently, Hunt engages in a verse by verse analysis of John 6:1-15 and the comparable passages in the Synoptic gospels and in turn illustrates the instances where John redacts the Synoptic material. He particularly suggests that the author of the fourth gospel redacts the Synoptic texts to suit his own authorial purposes by introducing allusions from Exodus 16 and depicting Jesus in relation to the portrayal of Moses in the Exodus narrative concerning manna from heaven.[94] Thus, Hunt suggests that the analysis evidences John's direct use of the Synoptics and the fourth evangelist's 'transformative imitation' of them.[95]

Most recently, G. Greenberg argues that John is literarily dependent upon Mark and that the evangelist redacts the Markan material in line with his theological aims. Greenberg selects four passages present in both in Mark and John which concern Jesus' authority (Mark 2:1-12 and John 5:1-47; Mark 3:20-25 and John 8:31-59; Mark 6:1-6 and John 4:44; 6:36, 42; 7:15; Mark 11:15-17, 27-33 and John 2:13-22). Through comparing these passages, Greenberg observes that for theological reasons, the fourth evangelist creatively rewrites his Markan material by employing the following 'editorial techniques':

- Replacing stories based on proof through healing with stories based on proof through words.
- Combining multiple stories with similar themes into a single episode that often disguises the underlying incidents.
- Moving stories from their original sequential position, where they served one function, and placing them into different locations as substitutes for an objectionable story.
- Moving problematic passages out of one story and into another, changing the narrative context and impact.
- Eliminating, wherever possible, negative portrayals of Jesus' family.
- Eliminating, wherever possible, negative portrayals of the disciples, especially Peter.[96]

Therefore, these scholars observe the obvious difficulty in postulating John's adaptation of hypothetical source material and in turn offer good examples of instances where John appears to draw on the Synoptic gospels and redact the material within them for his own authorial aims and interests. Whilst this approach with the focus on John's authorial interests does offer a strong basis for appreciating the similarities and particularly the differences between John and his Synoptic

[93] Steven A. Hunt, *Rewriting the Feeding of the Five Thousand: John 6.1-15 as a Test Case for Johannine Dependence on the Synoptic Gospels* (New York; Bern: Lang, 2011), 69-94.
[94] Hunt, *Rewriting the Feeding of the Five Thousand*, 235-80.
[95] Hunt, *Rewriting the Feeding of the Five Thousand*, 64.
[96] Gary Greenberg, *Proving Jesus' Authority in Mark and John: Overlooked Evidence of a Synoptic Relationship* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018), 7.

counterparts, the growing interest in John's position as a competent author who composed within a thriving literary culture and his possible use of compositional practices of the time, may offer a new approach to appreciating John's use of Mark and the similarities and differences between the two gospels. However, before turning to this some further studies which postulate John's use of oral and written Mark will first be covered.

ii. John's dependence on oral and written Mark

P. N. Anderson suggests that Mark and John should be regarded as bi-optic gospels and the relationship between them ought to be understood as a two stage process: First stage – Oral Mark and Johannine traditions came into contact; Second stage – John has contact with written Mark. Anderson hypothesises that within the first stage, Markan shaped oral traditions and Johannine shaped oral traditions came into contact prior to the writing of the gospels and that a relationship of 'interfluentiality' existed between these two sets of oral traditions.[97] Moreover, within the second stage, Anderson suggests that John possessed some sort of organised traditions similar to Mark from the oral stage on account of the similarities between the two gospels on a macro-level and on account of the vast differences on a micro-level when the two written gospel texts are compared.[98] Subsequently, Anderson suggests that in the second stage, John had access to a written version of Mark's gospel and in turn added to the Markan material which he had from the oral stage by including features that were augmentations, complements, and corrections to the written Markan gospel. For example, he proposes that John augments and complements Mark's written text in his own written gospel by incorporating the wedding at Cana (John 2:1-11) and the healing of the official's son (John 4:46-54) in order to fill out the beginning of Jesus' ministry, and by including the healing of the paralytic (John 5:1-17), the healing of the blind man (John 9:1-7), and the raising of Lazarus (John 11:38-44) to 'complement Mark's Galilean presentation.'[99] Additionally, he suggests that John corrects Mark's text in his own text by moving the temple incident to the start of Jesus' ministry so that he might account for the fact that the Jews were 'seeking all the more to kill him' (John 5:18).[100]

Therefore, while this is an innovative approach it perhaps overcomplicates and in turn obscures the relationship between Mark and John. There is a degree of uncertainty around the first stage concerning the nature of the 'interfluential' relationship between proto-Mark and proto-John, and there is uncertainty regarding

[97] Paul N. Anderson, "Interfluential, Formative, and Dialectal – A Theory of John's Relation to the Synoptics," in *Für und weider die Priorität des Johannesevangeliums*, ed. Peter Leander Hofrichter (Hildesheim: Olms, 2002), 35.
[98] Anderson, 'Interfluential, Formative, and Dialectal – A Theory of John's Relation to the Synoptics," 38-9.
[99] Anderson, 'Interfluential, Formative, and Dialectal – A Theory of John's Relation to the Synoptics," 40.
[100] Anderson, 'Interfluential, Formative, and Dialectal – A Theory of John's Relation to the Synoptics," 42.

the exact form of the oral Johannine tradition that became the basis for the second stage, while in the second stage John had access to a written text of Mark's gospel which he could have drawn from in any fashion he pleased. Thus, a simpler hypothesis may be to suggest that John's relationship with Mark was a purely literary one without an unverifiable initial stage.

iii. John's dependence on oral Mark

Labahn proposes that relationships between John and the Synoptics exist on the basis of 'secondary orality,' whereby John is dependent on the oral renderings of the Synoptic gospels which he in turn utilises to write his own gospel:

> When a text is read aloud and thus transmitted to an audience, a route for a new story is opened to be re-told by the recipients who will now become storytellers. The Synoptic Gospels may become such a source for stories being transmitted and re-narrated within the Johannine community. As being now part of the Johannine collective memory, some of these stories may have been re-written in a new (Johannine) Jesus story.[101]

Labahn argues for the oral nature of the fourth evangelist's source material on the premise that he understands the reference to 'many other signs' and 'these things' (John 20:30-31) to relate to Synoptic re-oralised traditions, and also on the basis that the gospel was written in a culture where recitations of the gospel texts was common place.[102] In turn Labahn takes the feeding narrative (John 6:1-15) and the walking on water passage (John 6:16-21) as a test case and compares them to the feeding narrative (Mark 6:30-44) and walking on water passage (Mark 6:45-52) in Mark's gospel. By doing so he seeks to demonstrate that the text of the fourth gospel evidences the incorporation and Johannine retelling of re-oralised Markan material. For example, Labahn firstly sets out the instances where Mark and John agree:

[101] Michael Labahn, "Secondary Orality in the Gospel of John: 'A Post-Guttenberg' Paradigm for understanding the relationship between Written Gospel Texts," in *The Origins of John's Gospel*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Hughson T. Ong (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 57-58.
[102] Labahn, "Secondary Orality in the Gospel of John," 72.

Mark 6:30-44	John 6:1-15
Jesus removed himself and he and his disciples subsequently came across a large crowd (Mark 6:30-34).	Jesus removed himself and he and his disciples subsequently came across a large crowd (John 6:1-2).
The disciples asked Jesus if they should buy two hundred denarii (δηναρίων διακοσίων) worth of bread (Mark 6:37b).	Philip questions whether buying two hundred denarii (διακοσίων δηναρίων) worth of bread would be sufficient (John 6:7).
Jesus asked that the crowd recline (ἀνακλῖναι) on the grass (χόρτῳ) (Mark 6:39).	Jesus asked that the crowd recline (ἀναπεσεῖν) on the grass (χόρτος) (John 6:10).
Jesus took and multiplied five loaves (πέντε ἄρτους) and two fish (δύο ἰχθύας) (Mark 6:41).	Jesus took and multiplied five loaves (πέντε ἄρτους) and two fish (δύο ὀψάρια) (John 6:9-11).
The crowd ate until they were satisfied (Mark 6:42).	The crowd ate until they were full (John 6:12).
There were twelve baskets (δώδεκα κοφίνων) of leftovers (Mark 6:43).	There were twelve baskets (δώδεκα κοφίνους) of leftovers (John 6:13).

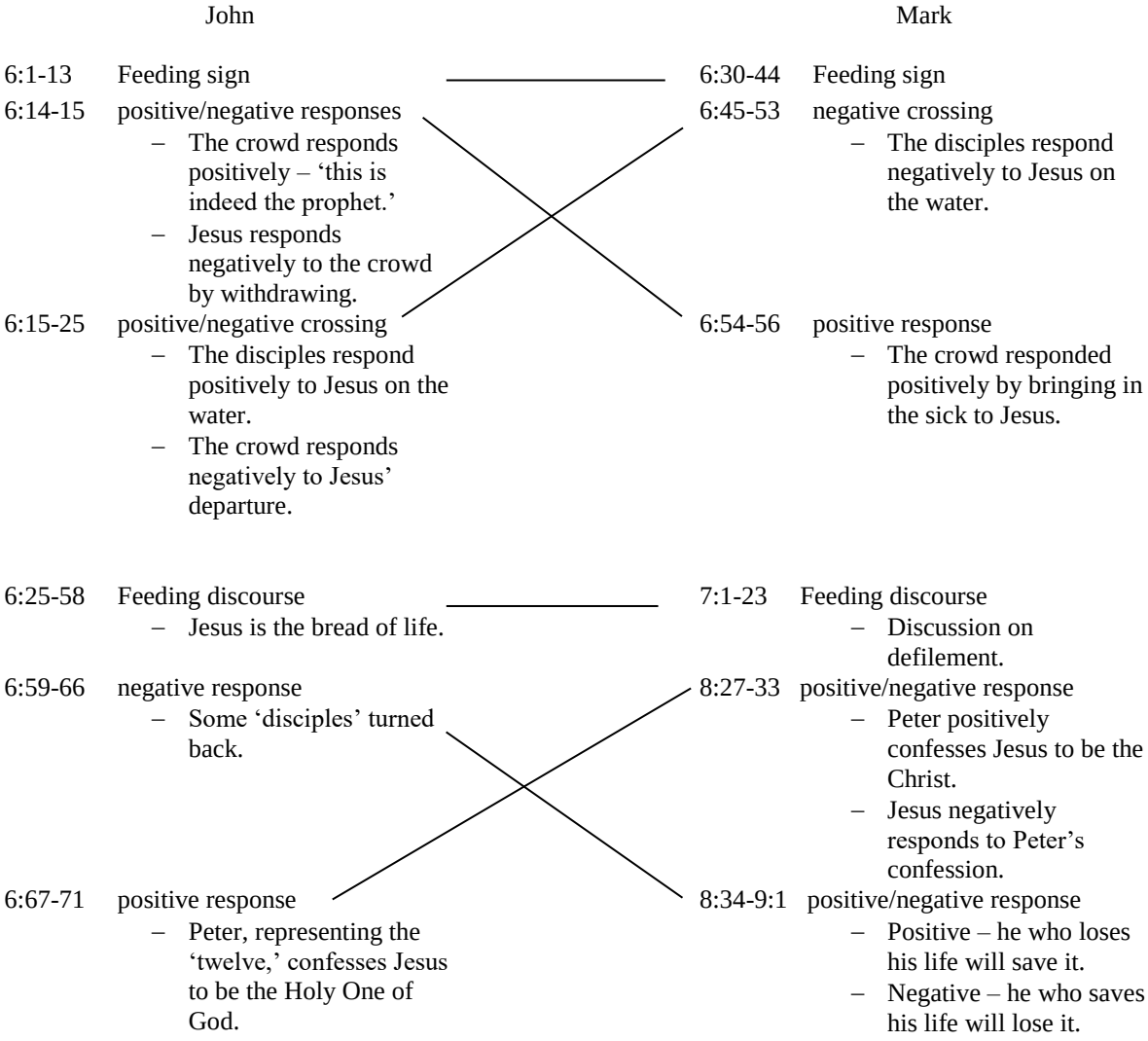
Mark 6:45-52	John 6:15-21
The disciples were rowing against the wind (Mark 6:48a) – the verb 'row' (ἐλαύνω) is found only in Mark and John.	The disciples were rowing against the wind (John 6:19) – the verb 'row' (ἐλαύνω) is found only in Mark and John.
The disciples were on the sea at the fourth watch of the night (Mark 6:48b).	The disciples rowed for four miles (John 6:19).
When Jesus walks on the water and his disciples see him he says 'It is I, do not be afraid' (ἐγώ εἰμι· μὴ φοβεῖσθε) (Mark 6:50).	When Jesus walks on the water and his disciples see him he says 'It is I, do not be afraid' (ἐγώ εἰμι· μὴ φοβεῖσθε) (John 6:20).

He proposes that these instances do not indicate a direct literary relationship between Mark and John, but rather they evidence a relationship on the basis of secondary orality.[103] He explains that the points of contact between the two gospels can be accounted for on the basis of secondary orality: 'According to the concept of secondary orality, it is expected that a written text leaves its mark formally, structurally, and also linguistically in the new orality that emerged from hearing a written text read aloud.'[104] Moreover, Labahn secondly explores the instances where Mark and John diverge. He observes that in the two Johannine passages Jesus becomes the central figure: the former pericope presents Jesus as a hero, and the latter pericope displays Jesus' power. Labahn notes that to place Jesus as the central figure is a 'Johannine narrative feature,' and he suggested that 'both stories seem to be re-told together in a Johannine milieu that left its traits in the focalization of Jesus as the main character, who was God's sent answer for the needs of the disciples.'[105]

In a similar vein I.D. Mackay proposes that John had heard the gospel of Mark being read aloud and committing it to memory used the material to compose or to develop his community's own gospel.[106] Mackay takes the feeding narratives in Mark 6:30-44 and John 6:1-15 as a test case and suggests that John draws on Mark's structure and strategy and adapts these for his own authorial aims. In this regard,

[103] Labahn, "Secondary Orality in the Gospel of John," 75-8.
[104] Labahn, "Secondary Orality in the Gospel of John," 65.
[105] Labahn, "Secondary Orality in the Gospel of John," 78-9.
[106] Ian D. Mackay, *John's Relationship with Mark: An Analysis of John 6 in Relation to Mark 6-8.*,WUNT II/182 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 302.

Mackay notes 'to serve his own agenda and theology, John has systematically stood Mark's most effective strategies on their head,'[107] and he also suggests that that fourth evangelist 'develops, adapts, relocates or excises Markan elements in accordance with the Johannine agenda.'[108] An example of John's use and adaptation of the two feeding narratives in Mark chapters 6 and 8 drawn from Mackay's conclusion is presented below:



Therefore, while it is entirely possible that John/his Johannine group heard an oral recitation of Mark's gospel, it is not necessarily the only way that he came into contact with Mark's gospel. Labahn proposes that John was dependent on Mark through secondary orality as 'the other signs' and 'these things' in John 20:30-31 refer to re-oralised Synoptic traditions and he wrote in a culture where it was common place for the gospel to be recited aloud to audiences. However, it might also be proposed that John was literarily dependent on Mark as 'other signs'/'these things'

[107] Mackay, *John's Relationship with Mark*, 303.
[108] Mackay, *John's Relationship with Mark*, 300.

could just as easily refer to written Synoptic material and as the evangelist wrote within a culture where it was also common for writers to use written source material. In regard to this point, C. Keith argues that 'these things' in John 20:31 refer to traditions from the written Synoptic gospels on the basis of 'competitive textualization.' He proposes that the author of the fourth gospel was aware of prior textualizations of the Jesus tradition (Synoptics) but that he found them inferior and sought to write a superior textualization of the Jesus tradition.[109] Labahn suggests that the points of contact between Mark and John betray evidence of the process of secondary orality and the differences evidence the shaping of the Markan material within the Johannine collective memory. However, the similarities and differences between the feeding and walking on water narratives in Mark and John may equally suggest that John draws on written Mark and adapts the material for his own authorial aims.

Finally, Mackay proposes that John received the Markan narrative through an oral recitation of the gospel, and while it is entirely possible that John at some point had heard the gospel of Mark being read aloud, Mackay's proposals concerning the fourth evangelist's intricate reworking of the Markan feeding narrative seem more suggestive that John had a text of the gospel available to him and had a thorough understanding of Mark's narrative.

IV. A New Way Forward

In more recent years there has been an increased interest in the literary world in which the gospel authors wrote and in turn how this literary culture influenced the manner in which the evangelists used written source material. The Graeco-Roman compositional practice of *imitation* has been explored in relation to John's use of the Synoptic gospels. T.L. Brodie who despite his somewhat unconventional overall thesis, namely his claim that the four canonical gospels were intertextual developments of a 'Proto-Luke' source in which Jesus is portrayed in light of the Elijah and Elisha story as found in the Septuagint, nevertheless makes some important observations concerning the practice of *imitation* in regard to John's use of written Synoptic material, and these observations deserve to be considered in their own right, independently from his overall idiosyncratic theory concerning Proto-Luke. He explores the use of *literary imitation*, and particularly *inventive imitation* among Greco-Roman writers, and explains that 'most Greco-Roman writing involved a tense blend of *imitatio* and *inventio* (creativity), a combining of old material with new.'[110] He emphasises that the practice of *imitation* was extremely widespread in the ancient world by noting that the practice had been employed in the lyrical poetry of Catullus and Horace, the pastoral poetry of Virgil, the didactic poetry of Lucretius, the comedy of Plautus and Terence, the satire of Lucilius, the tragic drama of Ovid

[109] Chris Keith, "The Competitive Textualization of the Jesus Tradition in John 20:30-31 and 21:24-25," *CBQ* 78 (2016): 321-37.

[110] Thomas L. Brodie, *The Birthing of the New Testament: The Intertextual development of the New Testament Writings* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2004), 7.

and Seneca, and the epic drama of Virgil.[111] Subsequently, Brodie highlights the multi-faceted nature of imitation and in turn offers descriptions of some of the various types of adaptation that might be employed when imitating a source.[112] These are as follows: *Elaboration, Compression or Synthesis*, *Fusion/Conflation*, *Substitution of images*, *Positivization*, and *Internalization form change*. Therefore, Brodie posits that 'the Greco-Roman practice of literary imitation provides at least a partial guide to the evangelist's way of re-working and transforming various texts.'[113]

More recently, Barker seeks to determine John's use of Matthew on the basis that the fourth evangelist employs 'opposition in imitation' (*oppositio in imitando*) – 'whereby a subsequent text imitates and reinterprets – but does not replace – a predecessor.'[114] Barker demonstrates that this practice was employed by Virgil in his use of Homer's *Odyssey*, as he observes that in Homer's work 'during Odysseus's trip to Hades, he tried three times to hug the ghost of his mother (*Od*. 11.204-209), while in Virgil's work during Aeneas's trip to the underworld, he tries three times to hug the ghost of his father (*Aen.* 2.790-794).'[115] Thus, Barker proposes that 'viewing John as both in continuity and in competition with Matthew fits well within the context of Greco-Roman compositional practices.'[116] Moreover, Barker also illustrates that this practice was utilised by authors of non-canonical gospels. For example, he explained that the *Protoevangelium of James* 'narrate[s] Mary's birth and childhood, proofs of her virginal conception and post-partum virginity, and clarification that she did not give birth to Jesus' supposed siblings,' thus this non canonical gospel 'intentionally supplements the canonical nativity stories.'[117] Furthermore, he explains that the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* 'fills in the gaps in Luke's gospel, which skips from Jesus' day of birth (Luke 2:7) and his circumcision on day eight (Luke 2:21) to Jesus' return to the temple at age twelve (Luke 2:42).'[118] Therefore, Barker suggests that 'the composition of the eventually extracanonical gospels provides a working model of John's use of Matthew.'[119] In turn, Barker takes three examples from John's gospel where the evangelist seems to use material from Matthew's gospel and employs opposition in imitation: the forgiveness of sins by the disciples (John 20:23 and Matt 18:1-35), Jesus' entrance into Jerusalem on a donkey (John 12:12-19 and Matt 21:1-9), the disciples' mission in Samaria (John 4:1ff and Matt 9:37b-38); following a thorough analysis, Barker proposes that in the first example John corrects Matthew,[120] in the second example John supplements Matthew,[121] and in the third example John harmonises with Matthew.[122]

[111] Brodie, *The Birthing of the New Testament*, 8-9.
[112] Brodie, *The Birthing of the New Testament*, 10-3
[113] Brodie, *The Birthing of the New Testament*, 3.
[114] Barker, *John's Use of Matthew*, 35.
[115] Barker, *John's Use of Matthew*, 35.
[116] Barker, *John's Use of Matthew*, 35.
[117] Barker, *John's Use of Matthew*, 31.
[118] Barker, *John's Use of Matthew*, 32.
[119] Barker, *John's Use of Matthew*, 29.
[120] Barker, *John's Use of Matthew*, 60-1.
[121] Barker, *John's Use of Matthew*, 90-2.

Thus, these scholars make significant contributions as in an important move in Johannine scholarship they begin to take seriously John's literary ability as an author and his position as a writer within the Graeco-Roman literary world as they seek to appreciate John's compositional practices in light of the literary practice of *imitation* employed by the literary contemporaries of the fourth evangelist.

i. Recent methodological contributions made in Synoptic studies

In the area of Synoptic studies, scholars examine the ways in which authors contemporaneous to the Synoptic evangelists use written source material in an effort to explain the literary relationships between the Synoptic gospels and the direction of influence between them. A pioneer in this respect is F.G. Downing whose methodology is to examine the manner in which Josephus and Plutarch employ source material in an endeavour to suggest that the two document hypothesis which proposed Luke and Matthew's independent use of both Mark and Q fits best with ancient compositional practices. For example, Downing examines Josephus' employment of the literary technique of *conflation* in his use of 1 Chronicles 10:1-12 and 1 Samuel 31:1-13 for the narration of Saul's death in his *Jewish Antiquities* 6.368-377:

> For instance, I Chronicles 10.1-12 gives us almost word-for-word I Samuel 31.1-13, and Josephus renders almost every phrase, adding only a note on the valour of Saul and his sons, and a massacre when these heroes fall. However, at II Samuel 1.6 he has a second account of Saul's death; and although this may represent a deliberate deception by the Amalekite, Josephus conflates both versions. He follows I Samuel 31.7 where it differs from I Chronicles 10.7; but uses the more plausible order of I Chronicles 10.8-9 for what ensues. He returns again to I Samuel, save for the unlikely 'burnt' in v.12, to which he prefers the Chronicler's 'buried.'[123]

Moreover, Downing assesses Plutarch's utilisation of the literary technique of *conflation* in his use of Livy's *History of Rome* and Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities* in his narration of the siege of Veii in his *Life of Camillus*:

> Plutarch I suggest, writing a century or so later, conflates these two earlier accounts, following most of their close parallels quite extensively, preferring now one, but the other version in differing tellings of subordinate incidents. But on the few occasions where his sources clearly conflict with each other or display perhaps a deficient narrative logic, he simply creates a fresh sequence of his own. That he is using both seems quite clear to me. Plutarch refers explicitly to Livy at *Camillus* 6.2. At 5.5-7 he includes an account of a prayer, placed on Camillus' lips. It is very similar to the one in Dionysius' (*Roman Antiquities* 12.14.1-2), both in structure and in the (Greek) words and phrases used.[124]

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[122] Barker, *John's Use of Matthew*, 105-6.

[123] F. Gerald Downing, "Compositional Conventions and the Synoptic Problem," in *Doing things with Words in the First Christian Century*, JSNTSup 200 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 160.

[124] Downing, "Compositional Conventions and the Synoptic Problem," 161.

Therefore, with these results in mind and turning to the Synoptic problem, Downing observes that 'either Mark has complicatedly part-unpicked and then (re-) conflated Matthew and Luke (Griesbach); or Luke has complicatedly part-unpicked and then (re-) conflated Mark and Matthew (Farrer); or Matthew and Luke in a much simpler fashion, without any prior 'unpicking,' have independently conflated Mark and 'Q'.'[125] Thus, favouring the latter proposal in light of the ancient compositional practice of *conflation* evidenced in the writings of the contemporaneous authors Josephus and Plutarch, Downing argues that 'the Two-Document Hypothesis (Mark and 'Q' used independently by Matthew and Luke) fits snugly in the known cultural context of the time.'[126]

Moreover, R.A. Derrenbacker follows Downing's lead and develops his methodology in a more extensive study which similarly suggests that the methods of source use associated with the Two-Document Hypothesis parallel most closely with those used by authors who were contemporaries of Matthew and Luke.[127] In his two part study, Derrenbacker firstly explores the features associated with composition in antiquity – literacy, the media and materials of writers, the posture of writers, the use of sources in ancient texts, and the use of memory.[128] Secondly, Derrenbacker draws references from the compositions of contemporaneous authors Arrian, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Cassius Dio, the epitomizer in 2 Maccabees, Philostratus and illustrates the authors' reflection upon their use of sources and the methods they utilised when employing sources, and in turn catalogues his findings.[129] Thirdly, he assesses the contemporaneous authors' Diodorus Siculus, Arrian of Nicomedia, and Strabo's use of sources by comparing the presentation of similar material in each of the texts – *On India*.[130] He also compares Diodorus Siculus' chronicle of Egyptian history to a fragment of Ephorus (*P Oxy.* 1610).[131] Finally, he demonstrates Josephus' use of two sources through an extensive comparison of selected passages from *Jewish Antiquities* (David anointed as King and his return of the Ark (*Ant*.7.53-89); Shisak's attack on Jerusalem and the death of Rehoboam (*Ant.* 8.251-265); Rehoboam and Ahab (*Ant*, 8.212-420)) to the comparable material present in 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 1 Chronicles, and in turn catalogues his findings.[132] With this catalogue of ways in

[125] Downing, "Compositional Conventions and the Synoptic Problem,"159.

[126] Downing, "Compositional Conventions and the Synoptic Problem," 153.

[127] For a critique of both Downing and Derrenbacker's approaches and arguments see Ken Olson, "Unpicking on the Farrer Theory," in *Questioning Q: A Multidimensional Approach*, ed. Mark S. Goodacre and Nicholas Perrin (Downers Grove, IL: Inter Varsity Press, 2004), 127-50. Eric Eve, "The Synoptic Problem without Q," in *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, ed. Paul Foster, et al. (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011), 551-70. John C. Poirier, "The roll, the codex, the wax tablet and the Synoptic problem," *JSNT* 35 (2012): 3-30. James W. Barker, "Ancient Compositional Practices and the Gospels: A Reassessment," *JBL* 135 (2016): 109-21.

[128] Robert A. Derrenbacker, *Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005), 19-49.

[129] Derrenbacker, *Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem*, 51-76.

[130] Derrenbacker, *Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem*, 79-89.

[131] Derrenbacker, *Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem*, 89-92.

[132] Derrenbacker, *Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem*, 100-16.

which ancient authors use their sources in place, Derrenbacker turns his attention to the three hypotheses associated with the Synoptic Problem and subsequently observes in light of these ancient source use conventions that the Two Gospel Hypothesis and the Farrer-Goulder Hypothesis have problems on the basis of what is known about ancient source use,[133] while the Two-Document Hypothesis fits more within the conventions of ancient sources use.[134]

Moreover, A. Damm in a somewhat similar fashion follows Downing and Derrenbacker by seeking to demonstrate that the proposal for Matthew and Luke's adaptation of Markan passages – Markan priority (2DH) – fits most closely with the rhetorical practice of chreia adaptation in the ancient world. In his two part study, Damm firstly offers an extensive illustration of the techniques associated with chreia adaptation as set out in Theon's *Progymnasmata*, Quintilian's rhetorical handbook, and Hermogenes' *Progymnasmata*.[135] He then subsequently, in order to ascertain how chreiai were adapted by literary writers contemporaneous with the Synoptic evangelists, explores Plutarch's methods of chreia adaptation in his biographies by comparing chreiai in *Apophthegmata Regum et Imperatorum* to the narration of the same chreiai in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, and he also compares the narration of the *Lives of Pelopidas and Lycurgus*.[136] He additionally explores Josephus' methods of chreia adaptation in his *Jewish Antiquities* by comparing chreiai in speeches in the biblical narrative to chreias in speeches in his *Jewish Antiquities*.[137] Damm then secondly takes two chreiai from the triple tradition (Fasting: Matt 9:14-17 // Mark 2:18-22 // Luke 5:33-39 and the Beelzebul Controversy: Matt 12:22-37 // Mark 3:20-35 // Luke 11:14-36) and demonstrates in light of the results drawn from part one how Matthew and Luke's adaptation of Mark's chreia (2DH) is more plausible than Mark's adaptation of Matthew and Luke's chreia (2GH).[138]

Finally, most recently M.R. Licona seeks to understand and account for the differences between the canonical gospels, but mainly the Synoptic gospels, in light of ancient biographical writing.[139] He begins with a brief overview of rhetorical practices laid out in compositional textbooks before turning his attention to the differences between the material presented in Plutarch's biographies as compared to the differences between the material presented in the Synoptic gospels. Firstly, Licona takes thirty pericopae which are presented in two or more of Plutarch's *Lives* and initially offers an analysis of the differences in these various pericopae and then

[133] Derrenbacker, *Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem*, 165-66, 202.

[134] Derrenbacker, *Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem*, 253-55.

[135] Alex Damm, *Ancient Rhetoric and the Synoptic Problem: Clarifying Markan Priority* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013), 2-80.

[136] Damm, *Ancient Rhetoric and the Synoptic Problem*, 81-110.

[137] Damm, *Ancient Rhetoric and the Synoptic Problem*, 111-70.

[138] Damm, *Ancient Rhetoric and the Synoptic Problem*, 173-280.

[139] In relation to John's Gospel Licona remarks 'I have no objective to solve the Johannine puzzle in this volume. Therefore, on most of the occasions where John differs from one or more of the Synoptics, only the difference will be noted with little or no attempt to account for why it exists.' Michael R. Licona, *Why Are There Differences in the Gospels? What Can We Learn from Ancient Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 166.

subsequently offers a summary of the compositional devices used by Plutarch. Examples of these devices are: inclusion and omission of details and events; simplification, paraphrase, and conflation of material; compression of character details; displacement and substitution of a logion; inversion of order; literary spotlight.[140] Secondly, Licona takes nineteen pericopae which are presented in two or more of the Synoptic gospels and initially offers an analysis of the differences between the pericopae and then subsequently offers a summary of the compositional devices used by the Synoptic authors. Examples of these devices are: addition and omission of words; substitution of words and phrases; compression of stories and dialogues; displacement of teaching; reversal of order of events; literary spotlight.[141] Therefore, he concludes that the evangelists had some level of rhetorical training and that they employed very similar compositional devices to those utilised by Plutarch which resulted in differences between the gospel narratives.[142]

Therefore, these studies while focusing on the Synoptic gospels nevertheless make hugely important methodological contributions to the question of the relationship and direction of influence between the Synoptic gospels, and make important observations concerning the evangelists' use of ancient compositional practices. Their two part studies where data is firstly collected from assessments of primary texts contemporaneous with the gospels which is in turn used to explore the Synoptic problem and to assess the evangelists' use and adaptation of sources, offers a valuable methodology and framework which may be applied to the question of John's use of Mark.

ii. A point of departure for this study

R. Bauckham observes the investigations conducted in Synoptic studies concerning the use of sources in the ancient world and suggests that the results from these studies should be used in trying to appreciate John's use of Mark as a source. He reiterates the results obtained by Derrenbacker and Downing: (i) ancient authors followed one source at a time; (ii) ancient authors depended on oral and written sources; (iii) ancient authors practiced free paraphrase not verbatim reproduction of sources.[143] On the final observation, Bauckham offers further comment:

> This was the compositional habit inculcated by basic education in the Graeco-Roman world, and can be observed extensively in Josephus' use of Jewish scriptures as his source for *Antiquities*. In light of the evidence of the normal practice of ancient authors, it is not the difference between the gospels that needs explaining, but the high degree of verbatim agreement between the Synoptics. We must drop the habit of thinking of the triple tradition passages in the Synoptics as a model of how we expect ancient authors to

[140] Licona, *Why are there differences in the Gospels?*, 23-111.
[141] Licona, *Why are there differences in the Gospels?*, 112-96.
[142] Licona, *Why are there differences in the Gospels?*, 197-198.
[143] Richard Bauckham, "The Gospel of John and the Synoptic Problem," in *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, ed. Paul Foster, et al. (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011), 660.

> use written sources. What accounts for the anomalous degree of verbatim agreement between the Synoptic Gospels is something that requires further study.[144]
>
> We might even conclude that a relatively high degree of verbatim agreement is *more* characteristic of different performances of an oral tradition than the work of literary authors who deliberately avoided repeating their written sources.[145]

Moreover, with this observation in mind, Bauckham turns to John 6:1-15 as a case for John's dependence on Mark and offers the following interpretation:

> Since John is clearly not dependent on Mark in the way that, according to the Two Source Theory, Matthew and Luke are, is there an alternative model to which John's relationship to Mark may conform?[146]
>
> This is the point at which the study of ancient compositional practices…is highly relevant to the relationship of John and Mark. The high degree of verbatim agreement between many parallel passages in the Synoptics is, as we have seen, not at all typical of ancient author's use of sources. Historians and biographers normally re-wrote their sources much more thoroughly, not only in order to shift the sense or interpretation by also simply to integrate them into their own composition…Perhaps it is this kind of 'historical paraphrase' of sources that should be our model for John's use of Mark.[147]

In a similar vein, J.S. Kloppenborg, focussing on Matthew and Luke's use of Q, illustrates that at one end of the spectrum, Matthew and Luke represent the direct verbal copying of the Q source while at the other end of the spectrum historians such as Diodorus, Josephus, and Ps-Philo represent the 'generous' paraphrasing' of their material. Thus, he posits that generous paraphrasing was the ideal rather than wooden copying and that direct copying was an anomaly in ancient compositional practice.[148]

Returning now to Bauckham, he defines 'historical paraphrase' as 'paraphrase for the sake of paraphrase or for the sake of conformity to the author's style.'[149] Taking the feeding narrative in the fourth gospel as a test case, he proposes that John may have employed the historiographical practice of paraphrasing. Firstly, he demonstrates that the fourth evangelist paraphrases the Markan source text for the sake of paraphrasing. For example, Mark narrates καὶ ἦραν κλάσματα δώδεκα κοφίνων πληρώματα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων (Mark 6:43), whilst John narrates συνήγαγον οὖν, καὶ ἐγέμισαν δώδεκα κοφίνους κλασμάτων ἐκ τῶν πέντε ἄρτων τῶν κριθίνων ἃ ἐπερίσσευσαν τοῖς βεβρωκόσιν (John 6:13).[150] Bauckham observes that it is variation of this nature that led form critics to deduce that John had drawn on oral traditions similar to Mark, yet in light of his assessment of ancient compositional practices, Bauckham remarks 'we have seen this need not be the case.'[151] Secondly,

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[144] Bauckham, "The Gospel of John and the Synoptic Problem," 661.
[145] Bauckham, "The Gospel of John and the Synoptic Problem," 663.
[146] Bauckham, "The Gospel of John and the Synoptic Problem," 675.
[147] Bauckham, "The Gospel of John and the Synoptic Problem," 675.
[148] John S. Kloppenborg, "Variation in the Reproduction of the Double Tradition and an Oral Q?," *ETL* 83 (2007): 63-80.
[149] Bauckham, "The Gospel of John and the Synoptic Problem," 678.
[150] Bauckham, "The Gospel of John and the Synoptic Problem," 677.
[151] Bauckham, "The Gospel of John and the Synoptic Problem," 678.

he demonstrates that the author of the fourth gospel paraphrases the Markan source to suit his own authorial aims. For example, in Mark's feeding narrative the disciples initiate a conversation with Jesus (Mark 6:35), while in John's feeding narrative Jesus initiates a conversation with Philip and Andrew (John 6:5ff) as 'it is characteristic of John's gospel that Jesus, rather than the disciples, takes the initiative.'[152]

Therefore, Bauckham's proposals offer a point of departure for this study as he asserts that John does not use Mark in the same way that Matthew and Luke do, and by drawing on the advances made in Synoptic scholarship concerning ancient compositional practices and the Synoptic gospels, he argues that John's different use of Mark needs to be explored in light of ancient compositional practices and that John's use of Mark can to a certain degree be accounted for in light of these ancient compositional practices.

Methodology

This study intends to explore John's use of Mark in light of ancient compositional practices, particularly the manner in which authors used written sources. Thus, this study will be comparative in form and will be presented in two parts. The first part will gather data regarding ancient source use and the second part will seek to relate this data to the question concerning John's use of Mark.

In part one, the study will investigate the theory and practice of source use in the ancient world. Not all authors in the ancient world used their source material in the same manner as they varied greatly in the degree to which they adapted the sources they were using. An author could closely copy their source material or they could freely adapt their material.[153] In this first part of the study texts which describe or exemplify the free adaptation of source material will be explored as this method of source use seems to have the greatest affinity with John's likely approach to his use of the Markan material. As a point of departure, this part will briefly illustrate the theory of using written sources and adapting them as laid out in the rhetorical handbooks of the first century CE Greek rhetorician Theon and his Roman contemporary Quintilian. These two pedagogical works have been chosen as their dates of composition broadly coincide with the dates of composition of the fourth gospel and they also offer evidence that represents both Greek and Roman compositional perspective. Subsequently, this part will also more extensively compare selected passages from the works of the Greek biographer Plutarch (first/second century CE), the Roman historian Tacitus (first century/second CE), the Jewish historian Josephus (first century CE), and the early Christian author of the Gospel of Peter (second century CE) to these authors' respective extant written source material, and will in turn describe these authors' methods of source use and particularly their adaptation of written sources. These four authors have been selected

[152] Bauckham, "The Gospel of John and the Synoptic Problem," 678.

[153] See again Bauckham, "The Gospel of John and the Synoptic Problem," 675 and Kloppenborg, "Variation in the Reproduction of the Double Tradition and an Oral Q?," 63-80.

as they exemplify great freedom in source adaptation, they are contemporaneous with the fourth evangelist, the range of authors is representative of the literary culture within which the fourth evangelist composed his gospel, and the written source material employed by each of the four authors is extant for the purposes of comparison. Therefore, this first part of the study will develop a sense of how written sources were used and adapted and will collect and collate data regarding the methods employed to adapt sources which will in turn be utilised in the second part of the study.

In part two the study will take John 1:1-2:22 as a test case and will compare this section of text to the comparable material in Mark's gospel. The selected Johannine text will be divided into five pericopae and for each of these pericopae the study will firstly engage with scholarship which argue for or against John's use of Mark. Secondly, the study shall compare John's pericopae to the comparable pericopae in Mark's gospel and the results of the comparison will be considered in light of the results from part one in an effort to suggest that John's use of Mark appears to fit with the methods of free adaptation observed in part one. Thirdly, the study will further seek to account for John's adaptation of the Markan material in light of his wider compositional aims by exploring the various theological, christological, and literary themes within the gospel. John's use of Mark has been taken as a test case for this study as the question of John's dependence upon Mark or his independence from Mark with his dependence being upon on pre-Markan traditions has been the prominent line of enquiry in gospel studies. Thus, this study seeks to further advance this question in favour of John's dependence upon Mark by taking a new approach and exploring John's use of Mark in light of ancient compositional practice. John's use of Matthew and Luke could also be explored within these methodological parameters; however, while this is a profitable enquiry, it is not within the scope of this present study. Moreover, the first two chapters of John's gospel have been chosen for comparison with the material present in Mark's gospel as there are sufficient parallels between the two gospels in order to conduct a constructive comparison. Additionally, these two Johannine chapters have received relatively little attention in regard to the question of the evangelist's use of Mark, despite the evidently interesting parallels.[154]

[154] A short redactional critical study of John 1:1-2:12 has been undertaken by Michael D. Goulder, "John 1.1-2.12 and the Synoptics," in *John and the Synoptics*, ed. Adelbert Denaux (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), 201-237. Additionally, a study focusing on the Synoptics' influence upon John 1-9 at a later redactional stage has been conducted by Ismo Dunderberg, *Johannes und die Synoptiker: Studien zu Joh 1-9* (Helsinki: Suomalaimen Tiedeakatemia, 1994).

Part 1

Ancient Compositional Practices: Source Use and Adaptation

Introduction

The fourth evangelist composed his gospel within a thriving literary culture in which there were a variety of ways for authors to use written source material. In this first part of the study the theory and practice of using and freely adapting written source material will be explored. Thus, this part of the study will firstly illustrate the theory of using and adapting written sources as laid out in sections of Theon's first century CE Greek rhetorical handbook – *Progymnasmata*, and in sections of Quintilian's first century CE Roman rhetorical handbook – *Institutio Oratoria*.[155] Secondly, this part of the study shall demonstrate the practice of first and second century CE authors in using and adapting written source material. Sections of these authors' texts will be compared with their extant source material and their adaptation of this material will be described. These authors and texts are as follows: Plutarch's *Life of Fabius Maximus* and Livy's *History of Rome* along with Plutarch's *Life of Nicias* and Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*; Tacitus' *Annals* and the *Acta Senatus*; Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* and the Jewish Scriptures; the Gospel of Peter and the canonical gospels. This selection represents a diverse range of authors, drawn from different parts of the Mediterranean world and reflects differing socio-religious outlooks. However, in terms of their literary activity in using source material, a certain commonality of practices will be observed. Notwithstanding this broad common approach to adapting literary texts, it will be noted that these authors adapt their source texts to different degrees; however, the types of adaptive techniques employed are broadly similar.

[155] While the compositional theories laid out in these rhetorical handbooks were intended primarily for those seeking to gain the skills necessary to be proficient speech writers, the exercises were also beneficial for those wishing to acquire the skills to compose a range of literature from poetry to history. This is noted by Theon himself at the beginning of his handbook: 'Training in exercises is absolutely useful not only for those who are going to practice rhetoric but also is one wishes to undertake the function of poets, or historians, or any other writers.' George A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 13. Thus, these theories are relevant for discussion of source use in the narrative works presented within this study.

I. The Theory of Source Use and Adaptation in the Ancient World

i. Theon's Rhetorical Handbook – *Progymnasmata*

Aelius Theon was a first century CE Greek rhetorician whose rhetorical handbook (*Progymnasmata*) appears to be the earliest extant work of its kind.[156] *Progymnasmata* were a series of preliminary exercises in composition which were undertaken by pupils prior to the study of rhetoric.[157] The exercises presented in Theon's handbook instruct pupils to take a text and to adapt its form and content as by doing so they might develop the skills necessary for good compositional practice. These exercises additionally set out the theory of source adaptation which could be practiced by pupils when they later came to compose their own works as mature authors. The influence of these pedagogical theories upon the practice of mature authors is emphasised by S.F. Bonnar: 'these exercises lay the foundations for a wider sphere of literary activity, and they did in fact exert a considerable influence on the methods of composition of both prose writers and poets.'[158] This pedagogical work is important to consider as it would have influenced the writing culture within which the fourth evangelist composed his gospel.

Theon's Exercises

The exercises in Theon's *Progymnasmata* are presented in a manner whereby they went 'from the easier to the more difficult'.[159] For example, a pupil would begin with the simple exercise of grammatically inflecting words within a short text and would eventually end with the challenging exercise of confirming and refuting the contents of a longer text. For the purposes of this study, exercises involving the shorter texts of *chreia*, *fable*, and *narrative*, along with the adaptive techniques pupils were expected to utilise will be explored. A tabulated form of these exercises is presented below:

[156] Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 1.

[157] Ruth Webb, "The *Progymnasmata* as Practice," in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, ed. Lee Too (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001), 289.

[158] Stanley F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome: From the elder Cato to the younger Pliny* (London; New York: Methune, 1977), 254.

[159] James R. Butts, *The 'Progymnasmata of Theon': A New Text with Translation and Commentary* (Ph.D Diss, Claremont Graduate School, 1986), 14.

Text Form	Technique	Theon's Explanation of the Technique
Chreia, Fable, Narrative	Grammatical inflection	*Chreia* – 'we change the person in the chreia into all three numbers, and do this in several ways: one person speaking about one, two, and more; and conversely two speaking about one, two, and more, and also plural persons speaking about one, two, and more.' (Theon, *Prog*. 3)[160] *Fable* – 'fables should be inflected in different grammatical numbers and oblique cases…the original grammatical construction must not always be maintained as though by some necessary law, but one should introduce some things and use a mixture of constructions.' (Theon, *Prog*. 4)[161]
Chreia, Fable, Narrative	Expand and Compress	*Chreia* – 'we expand the chreia whenever we lengthen the questions and answers in it, and the actions or suffering, if any. We compress by doing the opposite.' (Theon, *Prog*. 3)[162] *Fable* – 'we expand a fable by lengthening the remarks of the characters and by describing a river or something of that sort, and we condense by the opposite.' (Theon, *Prog*. 4)[163]
Fable and Narrative	Structural Arrangement and Rearrangement	*Fable* – 'we weave in a narrative in the following way. After having stated the fable, we bring in a narrative, or conversely we put the narrative first, the fable second.' (Theon, *Prog*. 4)[164] *Narrative* – 'begin in the middle and run back to the beginning, then jump to the end…begin from the end and go to events in the middle, and thus come down to the beginning…begin with events in the middle and, go to the end, and stop with things that happened first. Or again, beginning from the end go back to the beginning and stop in the middle, and also starting from the first events to change the last and stop with those in the middle.' (Theon, *Prog*. 5)[165]

[160] Kennedy's order of exercises. Theon: Spengel 1853-1856, 2.101 (text); Kennedy 2003, 19 (translation).

[161] Kennedy's order of exercises. Theon: Spengel 1853-1856, 2.74 (text); Kennedy 2003, 25 (translation).

[162] Kennedy's order of exercises. Theon: Spengel 1853-1856, 2.103 (text); Kennedy 2003, 21 (translation).

[163] Kennedy's order of exercises. Theon: Spengel 1853-1856, 2.75 (text); Kennedy 2003, 25-6 (translation).

[164] Kennedy's order of exercises. Theon: Spengel 1853-1856, 2.75 (text); Kennedy 2003, 25 (translation).

[165] Kennedy's order of exercises. Theon: Spengel 1853-1856, 2.86-87 (text); Kennedy 2003, 34-5 (translation).

Text Form	Technique	Theon's Explanation of the Technique
Chreia, Fable, Narrative	Paraphrase	*Chreia, Fable, Narrative* - 'Paraphrase consists of changing the form of an expression while keeping the thoughts. There are four main kinds: variation in syntax, by addition, by subtraction, and by substitution, plus a combination of these: – Syntactical paraphrase: we keep the same words but transpose the parts. – By addition: we keep the original words and add to them. – By subtraction: we may drop many of the elements of the original. – By substitution: we replace the original word with another.' (Theon, *Prog*. 15)[166]

Summary of Findings

Through these exercises, Theon lays out the theory of using sources and freely adapting them by utilising the techniques of grammatical inflection, expansion and compression, structural arrangement and rearrangement, and paraphrase; techniques which mature authors could later practice in the composition of their own works.

ii. Quintilian's Rhetorical Handbook – *Institutio Oratoria*

Marcus Fabius Quintilian (35-100 CE) was a Roman rhetorician whose only extant work is his twelve-volume rhetorical handbook (*Institutio Oratoria*).[167] Quintilian's handbook covered various theories related to rhetorical practice which were important for the aspiring orator. For the purposes of this study, Quintilian's tenth book which deals with the practice of literary imitation will be explored. This pedagogical work is important to consider as it would have influenced the writing culture within which the fourth evangelist composed his gospel.

Quintilian on Literary Imitation

The practice of literary imitation involved a writer drawing on the works of his literary predecessors; however, the author would not slavishly copy his source material, but rather would freely adapt his material so as to create a new and superior

[166] Kennedy's order of exercises. Theon: Patillion and Bolognesi 1997, 107-8 (text); Kennedy 2003, 70 (translation).

[167] For a recent discussion of Quintilian see Jorge F. López, "Quintilian as Rhetorician and Teacher," in *A Companion to Roman Rhetoric*, ed. William Dominik and John Hall (Malden, MA; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 307-22.

piece of writing.[168] The key aspects of Quintilian's discussion of literary imitation are presented below:

Quintilian initially catalogues a variety of notable Greek and Roman authors who composed works of various genres and he highlights the exemplary features within their works (Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.1.46-131). Subsequently, he notes 'it is from these and other authors worth reading that we must draw our stock of words, the variety of our figures, and our system of composition, and also guide our minds by the patterns they provide of all the virtues. It cannot be doubted that a large part of art consists of imitation. Invention of course came first and is the main thing, but good inventions are profitable to follow' (Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.2.1-2 [Russell, LCL]).

However, he continues the description of the practice of imitation by advising that 'imitation is not sufficient on its own' (Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.2.4 [Russell, LCL]), and in turn offers the following reasons:

- 'For one thing, only a lazy mind is content with what others have discovered. What would have happened in the days when there were no models, if men had decided to do and think of nothing that they did not know already? Nothing of course would have been discovered. So why is it a crime for us to discover something which did not exist before?' (Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.2.4 [Russell, LCL])
- 'It is a disgrace too to be content merely to attain the effect you are imitating. Once again, what would have happened if no one had achieved more than the man he was following?' (Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.2.7 [Russell, LCL])
- Furthermore, it is generally easier to improve on something than simply to repeat it. Total similarity is so difficult to achieve that even Nature herself has failed to prevent things which seem to match and resemble each other most closely from being always distinguishable in some respect.' (Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.2.10 [Russell, LCL])
- Again, whatever resembles another object is bound to be less than what it imitates, just as the shadow is less than the body, the picture less than the face, and the actor's performance less than the emotions of real life' (Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.2.11 [Russell, LCL])
- Again, the greatest qualities of an orator are inimitable: his talent, invention, force, fluency, everything in fact that is not taught in the textbooks. Thus many people think that, if they have picked out some words from speeches or some particular rhythmical feet, they have succeeded wonderfully in reproducing what they have read. Yet (a) words lose or gain currency with the times, because the surest rule for them is usage, and they are not good or bad by nature (for in themselves they are merely sounds) but only in virtue of their aptitude or propriety (or the reverse) in their context; and (b) the

[168] For a helpful discussion of the Roman practice of literary imitation see Donald A. Russell, "De Imitatione," in *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature*, ed. David West and Tony Woodman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1-16. Additionally, for a more recent discussion see also Matthew Potolsky, *Mimesis* (New York; London: Routledge, 2006), 49-70.

composition has been accommodated to the subject, and acquires its most pleasing qualities from its very variety.' (Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.2.13 [Russell, LCL])

Moreover, Quintilian further states that imitation,

- 'Should not be restricted to words. What we must fix our minds on is the propriety with which the great men handle circumstances and persons, their strategy, their arrangement, the way in which everything (even what seems to be a concession to entertainment value) is aimed at victory. We must note what they do in the Prooemium, how they manage and diversify the Narrative, the effectiveness of their Proofs and Refutations, their skill in appealing to every kind of emotion, and how they (make practical use) even of the applause of the public; for this is indeed a very splendid thing if it comes spontaneously, but not if it is courted.' (Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.2.28 [Russell, LCL])

However, he again advises that mere copying is not enough as he notes that,

- 'It is the man who also adds his own good qualities to these, making good the deficiencies and cutting out any superfluities, who will be the perfect orator we are seeking' and who will have 'surpassed their predecessors.' (Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.2.28 [Russell, LCL])

Summary of Findings

Through his discussion of literary imitation, Quintilian sets out the theory of source use and adaptation. In practice, according to Quintilian, an author should draw on written source material and adapt the contents of the material so as to create a new and superior piece of writing. Thus an author should adapt the source by employing a range of techniques including addition and omission.

II. The Practice of Source Use and Adaptation in the Ancient World

i. Plutarch's Use and Adaptation of Source Material

Plutarch (40-120CE) was a Greek biographer and essayist whose most significant work was his collection of biographies (βίοι).[169] These biographies are carefully arranged into twenty four parallel pairs by presenting the life of a notable Greek statesman alongside the life of notable Roman statesman.[170] In this section selected βίοι will be assessed in order to demonstrate the ways in which Plutarch uses and adapts his written source material. The motivation behind Plutarch's composition of these βίοι is to a certain degree evidenced through the programmatic statements presented in a few of the prefaces to his βίοι.[171] The best example of such a statement is found in the preface to the *Lives of Alexander* and *Caesar*:[172]

> It is the life of Alexander the king, and of Caesar, who overthrew Pompey, that I am writing in this book, and the multitude of the deeds to be treated is so great that I shall make no other preface than to entreat my readers, in case I do not tell of all the famous actions of these men, nor even speak exhaustively at all in each particular case, but in epitome for the most part, not to complain. For it is not Histories that I am writing, but Lives; and in the most illustrious deeds there is not always a manifestation of virtue or vice, nay, a slight thing like a phrase or a jest often makes a greater revelation of character than battles where thousands fall, or the greatest armaments, or sieges of cities. Accordingly, just as painters get the likenesses in their portraits from the face and the expression of the eyes, wherein the character shows itself, but make very little account of the other parts of the body, so I must be permitted to devote myself rather to the signs of the soul in men, and by means of these to portray the life of each, leaving to others the description of their great contests. (Plutarch, *Alex*. 1.1-3 [Perrin, LCL])

In this programmatic statement, Plutarch emphasises that he is writing *Lives* and not *Histories* and makes clear that he concentrates not so much on the great deeds of his protagonists as recorded in historical writings but on the finer details of his protagonists' deeds as he is of the opinion that these will most effectively reveal their

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[169] D. A. Russell refers to Plutarch's biographical project as a 'labour of love' and describes the project as being 'the most ambitious literary plan of a long and fertile career.' Donald A. Russell, "On Reading Plutarch's Lives," *G&R* 13 (1966): 140. Additionally, for a recent discussion of Plutarch and his biographical work see Joseph Geiger, "The Project of the Parallel Lives Plutarch's Conception of Biography," in *A Companion to Plutarch*, ed. Mark Beck (Malden, MA; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 292-303. Tomas Hägg, "Plutarch and His Parallel Lives: Ethical Biography,'' in *The Art of Biography in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 239-81.

[170] For a discussion concerning Plutarch's choice of Greek and Roman protagonists see Joseph Geiger, "Plutarch's Parallel Lives: The Choice of Heroes," *Hermes* 109 (1981): 85-104. Moreover, for an analysis of the ways in which Plutarch adapts his source material so that he might parallel the presentation of his two protagonists see David H J. Lamour, "Plutarch's Compositional Methods in the Theseus and Romulus," *TAPA* 118 (1988): 361-75.

[171] For a further discussion on the function of prefaces in Plutarch's βίοι see Philip A. Stadter, "The Proems in Plutarch's Lives," *ICS* 13 (1988): 275-95.

[172] R. Hamilton states that 'the clearest statement of Plutarch's aims is contained in the first chapter of the *Alexander*.' Richard Hamilton, *Plutarch Alexander: A Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), xxxviii.

character of virtue of vice.[173] Thus, Plutarch's purpose for writing these *Lives* appears to be pedagogical. In this regard, T.E. Duff writes 'the lives would lend themselves to the extraction of practical moral lessons for the readers' own implementation and edification.'[174] The biographer Plutarch presents many of his protagonists as examples of good moral behaviour and as models for his readers to emulate. For example, in the preface to the positive *Lives of Pericles* and *Fabius Maximus*, Plutarch writes 'but virtuous action straightway so disposes a man that he no sooner admires the works of virtue than he strives to emulate those who wrought them' (Plutarch, *Per*. 2.2 [Perrin, LCL]). Additionally, Plutarch presents a few of his protagonists as examples of bad moral behaviour so as to shock his readers and in turn to encourage them to imitate the behaviour of the virtuous protagonists. For example, in the preface to the negative *Lives of Demetrius* and *Antony*, Plutarch writes 'I think, we also shall be more eager to observe and imitate the better lives if we are not left without narratives of the blameworthy and the bad' (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 1.6 [Perrin, LCL]). Moreover, following the parallel presentation of two *Lives*, Plutarch brings each parallel pair to a close with a *synkrisis*. He compares and contrasts either the virtues or the vices of the protagonists presented in the βίοι and by doing so further emphasises these virtues and vices for the pedagogical benefit of his readers.[175]

Despite his more elevated Greek, the biographer Plutarch and his βίοι are a good literary analogy to John and his gospel as firstly like John, Plutarch writes in Greek in the first/second century CE. Secondly, like John's gospel, Plutarch's βίοι are written in narrative form and like John's proposed Markan source, Plutarch's sources are written in narrative form. Thirdly, perhaps in part like John's gospel, Plutarch's works are biographical in genre.[176] Hence, it seems that Plutarch and his βίοι as a literary analogy to John and his gospel is entirely appropriate.

Source Use and Adaptation in Plutarch's Βίοι

Classical scholarship has previously investigated the sources used by Plutarch and the methods of free source adaptation employed by the biographer in his various βίοι. A particularly important contribution in this respect has been made by C.B.R. Pelling

[173] For a further discussion of characterisation in Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* see Christopher B R. Pelling, "Aspects of Plutarch's Characterisation," *ICS* 13 (1988): 257-74.

[174] Timothy E. Duff, *Plutarch's Lives: Exploring Virtue and Vice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 52.

[175] For further discussions of Plutarch's use of *Synkrisis* see Hans Beck, "Interne Synkrisis bei Plutarch," *Hermes* 130 (2002): 467-89. Timothy E. Duff, "Plutarchan Synkrisis," in *Rhetorical Praxis and Theory in Plutarch. Acta of the IVth International Congress of the International Plutarch Society, Leuven, July 3-6 1996*, ed., Luc van der Stockt (Leuven: Peeters-Société des Études classiques, 2000), 141-61. Christopher B R. Pelling, "*Synkrisis* in Plutarch's Lives," in *Miscellanea Plutarchea*, ed. Frederick E. Brenk and Italio Gallo (Ferrara: Giornale filologico ferrarese, 1985), 83-96.

[176] For the gospel of John within the genre of βίος see, Richard A. Burridge, *What are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2018), 213-32.

in a pair of articles in which he explores Plutarch's method of work and his adaptation of source material.[177] In these articles, Pelling focuses on six Roman *Lives*, the *Lives* of *Crassus*, *Pompey*, *Caesar*, *Cato*, *Brutus*, and *Antony*. He proposes that these *Lives* were composed by Plutarch as a single project and that the main source for these *Lives* were the histories written by the first century BCE-first century CE Roman historian Asinius Pollio. Moreover, Pelling suggests that Plutarch likely wrote with the Pollio-Source in front of him, using it as a basis for his own narrative and possibly supplementing it with other relevant written and oral material known to him.[178] Consequently, Pelling states that these *Lives* 'afford a unique opportunity to investigate Plutarch's techniques' as he asserts that the 'substantial differences' between these six Roman *Lives* are not present on account of Plutarch's use of different source material, but that 'they must arise from Plutarch's individual literary methods.'[179] Therefore, Pelling commences by examining the 'literary devices' employed by Plutarch. By comparing the content in each of the *Lives*, Pelling classifies Plutarch's adaptation of his Roman source under three categories: (i) 'abridgement', (ii) 'expansion', (iii) 'fabrication of context'. Firstly, under the device of 'abridgement', Pelling describes four types of abridgement: conflation of similar items, chronological compression, chronological displacement, and transfer of an item from one character to another. Secondly, under the device of 'expansion', Pelling proposes that Plutarch uses this device in order to supplement inadequate material.[180] Thirdly, under the device of 'fabrication of context', Pelling suggests that Plutarch utilises this device so that he might incorporate additional details. Following his analysis of these literary devices, Pelling remarks 'Plutarch did revise his narrative in the most calculated manner'.[181] However, he also states that Plutarch's adaptation of his narrative sources 'was not always a conscious process', suggesting that it was the 'nature of story-telling',[182] thereby suggesting that it was thoroughly embedded within literary practice for an author to rework his source material.

Moreover, following his discussion concerning the literary devices utilised by Plutarch, Pelling seeks to account for the biographer's motivations for employing such devices. He appeals to the programmatic statement in the preface to the *Lives of Alexander* and *Caesar* and proposes that Plutarch's impetus for adapting his source

[177] Christopher B R. Pelling, "Plutarch's Method of Work in Roman Lives," *JHS* 99 (1979): 74-96. Christopher B R. Pelling, "Plutarch's Adaptation of his Source Material," *JHS* 100 (1980): 127-40.

[178] Pelling, "Plutarch's Method of Work in Roman Lives," 90.

[179] Pelling, "Plutarch's Adaptation of his Source Material," 127.

[180] Pelling, "Plutarch's Adaptation of his Source Material," 127-30.

[181] In regard to Plutarch as a Greek author creatively working with Latin source material, H.J. Rose remarks 'he never works as a mere compiler, but always as an artist, adding graphic touches of his own, avoiding repetition of what has already been done well elsewhere, omitting whatever does not suit his own purpose. It is not likely therefore that he will translate with literalness from foreign writers, even where he follows their general sense closely.' Herbert J. Rose, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch: A New Translation with Introductory Essays and a Running Commentary* (New York: Biblo & Tannen, 1974), 15.

[182] Pelling, "Plutarch's Adaptation of his Source Material," 130-31.

material stems from his intention to write βίοι, whereby it was necessary at points for the biographer to change source material in order either to highlight the virtue of his positive protagonists or the vice of his negative protagonists and present each of them as a model of behaviour from which his readers might learn how to conduct their own lives.[183]

Therefore, Pelling demonstrates the freedom and creativity with which Plutarch adapts his source material. He also accounts for the biographer's adaptation of his source material by appealing to his literary motivations. A similar sentiment is also made briefly by C.P. Jones:

> Though Plutarch depended on others for information, the stamp that he gave that information is his own. When his sources are extant, he can be shown to have adapted them to his own purpose, clothing them in his style and vocabulary and imposing his own interpretation on the material before him.[184]

In Pelling's endeavour to determine the literary devices utilised by Plutarch he does not compare the content of the *Lives* to the extant source material employed by the biographer. Instead, he conducts an internal comparison. His method is to compare the similar material which is present in each of the *Lives*. While this is an important approach that offers significant insights into Plutarch's literary purpose, by not utilising an external comparison with source material Pelling excludes evidence that would deepen and extend his conclusions concerning Plutarch's aims.

In common with Pelling, D.A. Russell seeks to analyse Plutarch's 'literary purposes'.[185] As the focus of his study, he explores the *Life of Coriolanus*. However, in contrast to Pelling, he makes an important methodological advance. Russell compares Plutarch's text to the biographer's extant source material – *Roman Antiquities* composed by the first century BCE Roman historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Through comparing the *Life of Coriolanus* to the extant source material, Russell classifies Plutarch's adaptation of his Roman source under three categories: (i) 'expansion', (ii) 'abridgement', (iii) 'transposition'.[186]

Thus, the following analysis will explore Plutarch's use and adaptation of his source material in light of his literary motivations. This will be achieved by taking as examples passages from the *Lives of Fabius Maximus* and *Nicias* and by comparing these passages with comparable passages in the biographer's extant source material, thereby demonstrating the different ways in which Plutarch adapts his source material to achieve his own literary aims. These findings will then be carried forward into the second part of the study in order to assess whether the composition of the gospel of John is best viewed as being due to the fourth evangelist adapting source material, specifically the gospel of Mark, to achieve his own literary aims.

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[183] Pelling, "Plutarch's Adaptation of his Source Material," 135.
[184] Christopher P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 87.
[185] Donald A. Russell, "Plutarch's Life of Coriolanus," *JRS* 51 (1963): 21.
[186] Russell, "Plutarch's Life of Coriolanus," 22.

Source Use and Adaptation in Plutarch's Life of Fabius Maximus and Nicias

Life of Fabius Maximus

Fabius Maximus was a third century BCE Roman statesman and general, and one of the protagonists chosen by Plutarch to feature in his biographical project. Plutarch paired the *Life of Fabius Maximus* with the *Life of* Pericles, a fifth century BCE Greek statesman and general. It was the biographer Plutarch's intention that these *Lives* might act as examples of men who demonstrated political and military excellence and may stand as models for his readers to emulate.[187] This aim was made clear by Plutarch in his preface to the *Lives of Pericles* and *Fabius Maximus*:

> But virtuous action straightway so disposes a man that he no sooner admires the works of virtue than he strives to emulate those who wrought them. (Plutarch, *Per*. 2.2 [Perrin, LCL])

> For such reasons I have decided to persevere in my writing of Lives, and so have composed this tenth book, containing the life of Pericles, and that of Fabius Maximus, who waged such lengthy war with Hannibal. The men were alike in their virtues, and more especially in their gentleness and rectitude, and by their ability to endure the follies of their peoples and of their colleagues in office, they proved of the greatest service to their countries. (Plutarch, *Per*. 2.4 [Perrin, LCL])

The extant source material from which Plutarch draws his information concerning the military and political exploits of Fabius Maximus has traditionally been considered to be the *History of Rome* written by the first century BCE/CE Roman historian Livy.[188] This view was traditionally held by H. Peter who offers a comprehensive illustration of the parallel material in Plutarch's *Life of Fabius Maximus* and Livy's *History of Rome*. He demonstrates in detail that the content of Plutarch's text correlates strongly with the content of Livy's text in books 22 and 27-30.[189] Moreover, considerably more recently, S.A. Xenophontos has observed that 'the close parallels between Plutarch's *Fabius* and Livy's Books 22 and 27-29…reasonably point in the direction of Livy being the principal source for Plutarch'.[190] Thus, the following example will demonstrate some of the ways in which Plutarch uses and adapts his Livian source material.

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[187] For a further discussion of this pairing see Philip A. Stadter, "Plutarch's Comparison of Pericles and Fabius Maximus," *GRBS* 16 (1975), 77-85. Additionally, for a discussion Fabius Maximus as positive paradigms see Philip A. Stadter et al., *Vite Parallele Plutarco Pericle e Fabio Massimo: Testo Greco a fronte* (Milan: Biblioteca universale Rizzoli, 1991), 266-79.

[188] In various *Lives*, Plutarch implies that he knows a *History of Rome* as he often makes reference to Livy and his work: *Cam*. 6.2; *Marc*. 11.8; 24.5; 30.5; *Flam*. 18.9; 20.10; *Cat Moi*. 17.5; *Luc*. 28.8; 31.9; *Sull*. 6.19; *Caes*. 47.3-6; 63.9. For the opinion that Plutarch did not use Livy see Barbra Scardigli, *Die Römerbiographien Plutarchs: ein Forschungsbericht* (Munich: Beck, 1979), 35-7.

[189] Herman Peter, *Die Quellen Plutarchs in den Biographieen der Römer* (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1865), 52-3.

[190] Sophia A. Xenophontos, "Περὶ ἀγαθοῦ στρατηγοῦ: Plutarch's Fabius Maximus and the Ethics of Generalship," *Hermes* 140 (2012): 161, n.5.

Fabius Maximus fights Hannibal

In his *Life of Fabius Maximus*, Plutarch sets out to portray his protagonist as an exemplary general and statesman whose qualities ought to be emulated by his readers. This is observed by Xenophontos who notes 'Plutarch works from the very beginning to defend his hero's image, and elevate him to the status of a model, worthy of imitation by his audience.'[191] A good example where Plutarch seems to use and adapt material from Livy's *History of Rome* in order to present an exemplary picture of his protagonist is found in his account of Fabius Maximus' first encounter with the Carthaginian general Hannibal. It is to this example that we shall now turn.

Plutarch follows Livy by narrating that Fabius Maximus took over the role of dictator following the defeat of his predecessor Flaminius (Plutarch, *Fab*. 4.1 // Livy, *History of Rome*. 22.12.1) and continues to follow the Roman author by suggesting that after his appointment as dictator, Fabius Maximus turned his attention to his opponent Hannibal. Livy narrates that Fabius Maximus approached his enemy with 'utmost circumspection' and 'resolved nowhere to resolve himself to fortune, except in so far as it might compel him' (Livy, *History of Rome*. 22.12.2 [Foster, LCL]). However, Plutarch thoroughly alters Fabius Maximus' thoughts and actions in order to cast his protagonist in a positive light. He presents him seeking to win the favour of the Roman populace and bolster their confidence by encouraging them in their piety, and he also portrays Fabius Maximus confidently believing that on account of his 'wisdom and valour' the gods would bestow him success and victory (Plutarch, *Fab*. 4.2-5.1 [Perrin, LCL]). Subsequently, Plutarch adds a small sized section of material, unparalleled in Livy, concerning Fabius Maximus' astute tactics. The biographer emphasises the 'wisdom' of Fabius Maximus as he narrates that the dictator 'did not purpose to fight out the issue with him, but wished, having plenty of time, money, and men, to wear out and consume gradually his culminating vigour, his scanty resources, and his small army' (Plutarch, *Fab*. 5.2 [Perrin, LCL]).

Moreover, both Livy and Plutarch advance their respective narratives by describing Fabius Maximus' tactic of keeping his troops to high ground in order to remain at a distance from the enemy. Livy explains that Fabius Maximus employed this tactic out of fear (Livy, *History of Rome*. 22.12.8-10). By contrast, Plutarch significantly alters the motivations behind Fabius Maximus' employment of this tactic. Moreover, Plutarch further highlights the intelligence of his protagonist and his employment of this shrewd tactic by explaining that Fabius Maximus utilised the tactic in order that he might 'hang threateningly over the enemy' and 'instil fear in the enemy' (Plutarch, *Fab*. 5.2 [Perrin, LCL]).[192] Furthermore, Livy and Plutarch

[191] Xenophontos, "Περὶ ἀγαθοῦ στρατηγοῦ: Plutarch's Fabius Maximus and the Ethics of Generalship," 163.

[192] In regard to Plutarch's broader alteration of his source material, J.L. Moles, writing on the *Life of Cicero*, observes 'there is a great deal of factual distortion in Plutarch's narrative, ranging from relatively trivial to great and from individual items to large-scale rewritings.' John L. Moles, *Plutarch's Lives Cicero: With Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 1988), 36.

both consequently relate Hannibal's reaction to Fabius Maximus. Livy describes Hannibal acting irrationally and utilising senseless tactics. According to Livy the general was threatened by the 'prudence' of Fabius Maximus and he responded by seeking to provoke and try Fabius Maximus' temper (Livy, *History of Rome*. 22.12.3-7 [Foster, LCL]), yet Plutarch considerably alters Hannibal's reaction to the Roman dictator. The biographer portrays the Carthaginian general being impressed by the 'intelligence' of Fabius Maximus and he responded by seeking to adopt 'every species of strategic trick and artifice' in order to defeat his antagonist (Plutarch, *Fab*. 5.3 [Perrin, LCL]). In regard to Plutarch's positive portrayal of Hannibal and the biographer's pedagogical aim, S.G. Jacobs observes 'the characterization of Hannibal in the *Life* not only helps clarify the strengths in Fabius Maximus' strategic assessments, but also introduces additional lessons in generalship.'[193]

Subsequently, both Livy and Plutarch introduce Minucius, the Master of the Horse, and describe his character. Livy depicts him as being 'violent and hasty in his opinions' (Livy, *History of Rome*. 22.12.12 [Foster, LCL]), while Plutarch slightly alters this depiction by developing the negative character of the Master of the Horse and describing him 'eager to fight all season' and as keen to gather an army who he in turn 'filled with mad impetuosity and empty hopes' (Plutarch, *Fab*. 5.4 [Perrin, LCL]). Through characterising Minucius in this manner, Plutarch sets the negative character of the Master of the Horse in sharp contrast to the positive character of Fabius Maximus who sought to bolster his troops (cf. Plutarch, *Fab*.4.3; 5.1) and who sought to avoid conflict (cf. Plutarch, *Fab*. 5.2). By creating this character contrast, Plutarch uses Minucius as a foil as his negative actions emphasise the positive actions of Fabius Maximus and in turn draw his reader's attention to these imitable actions.[194] Finally, Plutarch follows Livy by relaying Minucius' criticism of Fabius Maximus (Plutarch, *Fab*. 5.5 // Livy, *History of Rome*. 22.12.12). While Livy's narration of this particular account concludes here, Plutarch continues and adds a medium sized section of material unparalleled in Livy's account. He portrays Fabius Maximus in an emphatic monologue defending himself and his military choices: 'I should be a greater coward than I am now held to be, if through fear of abusive jests I should abandon my fixed plans…' (Plutarch, *Fab*. 5.6 [Perrin, LCL]). In relation to Plutarch's positive presentation of Fabius Maximus, Xenophontos observes 'this is one of Plutarch's contributions to the exposition, which helps him

[193] Susan G. Jacobs, *Plutarch's Pragmatic Biographies: Lessons for Statesmen and Generals in Parallel Lives* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018), 161.

[194] On the use of character contrast in Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* see Barbra Bucher-Isler, *Norm und Individualität in den Biographien Plutarchs* (Stuttgart: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1972), 63-6. Moreover, in the positive *Life of Timoloen*, Swain observes that Plutarch uses Hiketas as a foil to his protagonist Timoleon. He enhances the negative characteristics of the secondary character to enhance the positive characteristics of the protagonist. Simon C R. Swain, "Plutarch's Aemilius and Timoleon," *Hist.* 38 (1989): 321. Additionally, this technique also functions the other way round. In the negative *Life of Marius*, Carney observes that Plutarch enhances the good character of Cinna in order to 'underline Marius' faults more distinctly.' Thomas F. Carney, "Plutarch's Style in the Marius," *JHS* 80 (1960): 28.

accentuate Fabius' moral superiority.'[195] Thus, the biographer enhances Fabius Maximus' exemplary morality and presents him as a model to be emulated.[196]

Life of Nicias

Nicias was a fifth century BCE Athenian statesman and general, and another one of the protagonists selected by Plutarch to feature in his biographical project. Plutarch paired the *Life of Nicias* with the *Life of Crassus*, a first century BCE Roman statesman and general. It was the biographer Plutarch's objective that these *Lives* might act as examples of men who demonstrated poor statesmanship and generalship and may stand as models of behaviour that ought to be avoided by his readers.[197]

The extant source material from which Plutarch draws a good deal of his information concerning the political and military exploits of Nicias appears to be the *History of the Peloponnesian War* composed by the fifth century BCE Greek historian Thucydides. In the preface to his *Life of Nicias*, Plutarch implies that he knows Thucydides' history by making references to the Greek historian's work (Plutarch, *Nic.* 1.1-2, 5). Moreover, as Pelling argues 'it is quite evident that Plutarch knows Thucydides at first hand, and that most of his information is drawn directly from Thucydides' text.'[198] Plutarch suggests in his preface that he admires the work of Thucydides, yet seeks to supplement it in order that his own work might fulfil his biographical aim:

> At all events, those deeds which Thucydides and Philistus have set forth,—since I cannot entirely pass them by, indicating as they do the nature of my hero and the disposition which lay hidden beneath his many great sufferings,—I have run over briefly, and with no unnecessary detail, in order to escape the reputation of utter carelessness and sloth; but those details which have escaped most writers, and which others have mentioned casually, or which are found on ancient votive offerings or in public decrees, these I have tried to collect, not massing together useless material of research, but handing on such as furthers the appreciation of character and temperament. (Plutarch, *Nic*. 1.5 [Perrin])

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[195] Xenophontos, "Περὶ ἀγαθοῦ στρατηγοῦ: Plutarch's Fabius Maximus and the Ethics of Generalship," 168.

[196] In relation to Plutarch's addition of new material within his broader biographical works, Moles, again writing on the *Life of Cicero*, observes that there are sections in Plutarch narrative where there appears to be an 'outright invention of material'. Moles, *Plutarch's Lives Cicero*, 38.

[197] For the *Lives of Nicias and Crassus* being negative examples see Alexei V. Zadorojniy, "Tragedy and Epic in Plutarch's Crassus," *Hermes* 125 (1997): 172. Anastasios G. Nikolaidis, "Is Plutarch Fair to Nikias?," *ICS* 13 (1998): 331.

[198] Christopher B R. Pelling, "Plutarch and Thucydides," in *Plutarch and History: Eighteen Studies*, ed. Christopher B R. Pelling (London: Duckworth, 2002), 118. For the opinion that Plutarch drew on Thucydides' work see also Robert J. Littman, *Plutarch's use of Thucydides in the Life of Nicias, Life of Alcibiades and Life of Themistocles* (Ph.D Diss, Columbia University, 1970), 119. Moreover, for the opinion that Plutarch did not use Thucydides see Mario A. Levi, *Plutarcho e il Vsecolo* (Milan: Cisalpino, 1955), 159-95.

Plutarch implies that he follows Thucydides' account concerning the events and the deeds associated with his protagonist, yet he indicates that he has quite freely glossed over unnecessary material and included new material which assisted him in the portrayal of his protagonist. Therefore, the following example will illustrate some of the ways in which Plutarch uses and adapts his Thucydidean source material.[199]

Nicias and the conquest of Sicily

In his *Life of Nicias*, Plutarch sets out to portray his protagonist as a general and statesman whose negative qualities ought to be avoided by his readers. He also intends for these negative qualities to encourage his readers to emulate the positive qualities of the other more reputable protagonists.[200] A good example where Plutarch seems to use and adapt material from Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* in order to present an undesirable picture of his protagonist is found in his account of Nicias' opposition to the Sicilian expedition. It is to this example that we shall now turn.

Plutarch follows Thucydides by narrating that Nicias was made general against his will, that Nicias opposed the Athenians' proposed conquest of Sicily, and that the decision of the Athenians prevailed (Plutarch, *Nic.* 14.1-2 and Thucydides, *P.W.* 6.8.3-4). However, as A. Nikolaidis notes 'Plutarch finds fault with Nikias in the way he conducted the Sicilian expedition right from the beginning.'[201] The biographer adds a small sized section of material unparalleled in Thucydides concerning the actions of Nicias in order to cast his protagonist in a negative light. He describes the general as 'exceeding caution and hesitation' in regard to the Sicilian conquest (Plutarch, *Nic.* 14.2 [Perrin, LCL]). Moreover, both Plutarch and Thucydides advance their individual accounts by relating the proposed tactics of Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus in regard to the Sicilian conquest. Thucydides dedicates a considerable amount of space to conveying in detail the proposals of each of the generals (Thucydides, *P.W.* 6.9.1-6.23.4). Yet, Plutarch entirely omits this large narration as it does not contribute to the portrayal of his protagonist. This point is observed by J. de Romilly who notes 'such a discussion is more interesting for history than for biography.'[202] Furthermore, at the close of Thucydides' extensive

[199] The following example is taken from chapter 14 of Plutarch's *Life of Nicas*. In regard to the source behind this chapter, Pelling observes 'on a rough count rather over half of *Nic*. 12-29 seems to come straight forwardly from Thucydides…the 'hard-core' narrative of the campaign itself, chs. 14-22 and 23-27, is rather more distinctly Thucydidean. Often we find fairly close verbal echoes, and the entire narrative articulation follows Thucydides' account with suggestive closeness.' Pelling, "Plutarch and Thucydides," 119.

[200] In regard to Plutarch's negative characterisation of Nicias, Nikolaidis notes 'this does not mean that Plutarch never praises Nikias nor that he altogether rejects him. It only means that, contrary to his usual tendency (in other Lives) of stressing the good qualities of his heroes, in this Life he appears to try to bring into relief the faults of Nikias. Nicolaidis, "Is Plutarch fair to Nikias?," 319-20.

[201] Nikolaidis, "Is Plutarch Fair to Nikias?," 325.

[202] Jacqueline de Romilly, "Plutarch and Thucydides or the Free Use of Quotations," *Phoenix* 42 (1988): 32. Plutarch's use of extensive omission is also observed by Russell in the *Life of Coriolanus*.

narration he presents each of the generals offering one final suggestion concerning the conquest of Sicily (Thucydides, *P.W.* 6.47-49). Here Plutarch follows Thucydides in narrating these suggestions, yet he offers an abridged version of them (Plutarch, *Nic*. 14.3). There is at this point an exceptional verbal similarity between Plutarch and Thucydides in regard to the suggestion made by Lamachus.[203] For example:

History of the Peloponnesian War 6.49.1-2	Life of Nicias 14.3
Λάμαχος δὲ **ἄντικρυς** ἔφη χρῆναι **πλεῖν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας** καὶ πρὸς τῇ πόλει ὡς τάχιστα τὴν **μάχην** ποιεῖσθαι. (Thucydides, *P. W.* 6.49.1-2 [Smith, LCL])	ὁ δέ, Λαμάχου μὲν **ἄντικρυς** ἀξιοῦντος **πλεῖν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας** καὶ **μάχην** ἔγγιστα τῆς πόλεως τιθέναι. (Plutarch, *Nic.* 14.3 [Perrin, LCL])
Lamachus maintained that they ought to **sail direct to Syracuse** and as soon as possible *make the fight near the city*. (Thucydides, *P. W.* 6.49.1-2 [Smith, LCL])	While Lamachus urged that they **sail direct to Syracuse** and give battle close to the city. (Plutarch, *Nic.* 14.3 [Perrin, LCL])

Moreover, he slightly transposes the material by reversing the order in which the generals offer their proposals. In the Thucydidean narrative, Nicias offers his proposal first, Alcibiades' proposal follows second, and the suggestion of Lamachus comes third. The biographer transposes this sequence and presents the generals offering their suggestions in inverse order: Lamachus, Alcibiades, Nicias.[204] Additionally, Plutarch accompanies this transposition with a notable alteration to the outcome of the suggestions. Thucydides ends with Lamachus and narrates that he 'gave his support to the opinion of Alcibiades' (Thucydides, *P.W.* 6.50.1 [Smith, LCL]), while Plutarch ends with Nicias and implies that Nicias' opinion prevailed as he narrates that 'in this way he soon relaxed the resolution and depressed the spirits of his men.' (Plutarch, *Nic*. 14.3 [Perrin, LCL]). Finally, Plutarch follows Thucydides as both authors consequently make reference to the summons Alcibiades' received from the Athenians to return home to stand trial (Plutarch, *Nic*.

He notes 'the second great crisis of Coriolanus' career, his trial, is handled by Dionysius at great length, with enormous speeches. Plutarch abridges drastically.' Russell, "Plutarch's Coriolanus," 25.

[203] Pelling illustrates other instances of 'verbal echoes' between Plutarch and Thucydides: *Nic*. 16.1 (*Thuc.* 6.63.3), 16.8 (6.64.3), 18.5 (6.102.2), 18.9 (6.104.1), 19.3 (7.3.1), 19.9 (7.7.4), 21.1 (7.42.1), 21.2 (7.42.2), 21.7 (7.43.5), 26.1 (7.73.3), 26.2 (7.74.2), 27.9 (7.87.5). Pelling, "Plutarch and Thucydides," 135, n. 11. Moreover, Plutarch's quotation of Plato in his philosophical works is explored by Whittaker. He observes 'it was not part of Plutarch's objective to preserve for posterity the fragments of text which he quoted, but only to exploit them according to current literary convention.' John Whittaker, "The Value of Indirect Tradition in the Establishment of Greek Philosophical Texts and the Art of Misquotation," in *Editing Greek and Latin Texts*, ed. John N. Grant (New York: AMS Press, 1989), 65, n. 4.

[204] In relation to Plutarch's re-ordering of events within his broader biographical works, Pelling observes that Plutarch employs the technique of altering a sequence in his *Life of Caesar* in order to emphasise his protagonist's success. Christopher B R. Pelling, *Plutarch Caesar: Translated with an Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 56. Additionally, in a similar vein Moles observes in the *Life of Cicero* Plutarch takes 'frequent chronological liberties (from small to great) of two types: telescoping of scale and chronological displacement of material.' Moles, *Plutarch's Lives Cicero*, 37.

14.4 // Thucydides, *P.W.* 6.53.1). Thucydides continues with a section of narrative relating to the trial of Alcibiades, yet Plutarch changes direction and instead adds a medium sized section of material unparalleled in Thucydides concerning Nicias' subsequent actions. The biographer highlights that on account of Alcibiades' absence, Nicias now held power; however, he emphasises that Nicias did not utilise this power constructively. Rather he describes Nicias 'sitting idle', 'cruising aimlessly about', and 'taking deliberate counsel', with the result being that the hopes of his men 'grew old and feeble' (cf. Plutarch, *Nic*. 14.3 [Perrin, LCL]) and the fear of the enemy 'slowly subsided' (Plutarch, *Nic*. 14.4 [Perrin, LCL]). Thus, the biographer enhances Nicias' poor statesmanship and generalship and portrays him as an example to be avoided.

Summary of Findings

The foregoing analysis has demonstrated that Plutarch, a literary contemporary of the fourth evangelist, thoroughly reworks his source material for use across his biographical project. Plutarch is no wooden copyist or uncreative complier of source material. Instead he freely adapts his written source material. The preceding discussion has illustrated that Plutarch does not copy his source material verbatim but that he deliberately rewrites the content of his source; however, there was one exceptional example where the author briefly copies his source more directly in terms of wording. Furthermore, Plutarch's thoroughgoing adaptation may be further categorised under four headings: (i) additions - the addition of unparalleled material to the source material, (ii) omissions - the omission of material in the source material, (iii) alterations - the alteration of aspects already in the source material, and (iv) transpositions - the transposition of material from its original position in the source material.

i. Additions: Plutarch adds small (a phrase or 1-5 lines in the printed text) and medium (5-20 lines in the printed text) pieces of unparalleled material concerning his protagonists Fabius Maximus and Nicias.
ii. Omissions: Plutarch removes large sections from his source as this material which narrates three speeches does not fit with his authorial aim (20 lines or more in the printed text).
iii. Alterations: Plutarch significantly changes the words, actions, and motivations of his primary characters Fabius Maximus and Nicias and his secondary character Hannibal. Additionally, the biographer slightly changes the actions of his secondary character Miniscus.
iv. Transpositions: Plutarch for the most part follows his source in its arrangement of material; however, he slightly changes the ordering of his source material within the same temporal setting.

In these two example passages it has been shown that within a single passage, Plutarch extensively employs a variety of methods to freely adapt his source material

and create his own new piece of writing. Additionally, these are not isolated examples, but rather reflect Plutarch's continual free adaptation of his source material throughout his *Parallel Lives*.

ii. Tacitus' Use and Adaptation of Source Material

Tacitus (56-120CE) was a Roman historian and senator and his most notable work was his *Annals*.[205] He was a political insider who composed a complete chronological history of the Roman Empire from the time of Tiberius' reign through to the reign of Nero which was presented over 18 books. Unfortunately, only parts of this historical work are extant: *Annals* 1-4, the beginning of 5, 6, 11, and 12 to the middle of 16. Thus, in this section passages from these extant books will be assessed in order to demonstrate how Tacitus uses and adapts his written source material.

Tacitus commences his *Annals* by briefly explaining his intention:

> But, while the glories and disasters of the old Roman commonwealth have been chronicled by famous pens, and intellects of distinction were not lacking to tell the tale of the Augustan age, until the rising tide of sycophancy deterred them, the histories of Tiberius and Caligula, of Claudius and Nero, were falsified through cowardice while they flourished, and composed, when they fell, under the influence of still rankling hatreds. Hence my design, to treat a small part (the concluding one) of Augustus' reign, then the principate of Tiberius and its sequel, without anger and without partiality, from the motives of which I stand sufficiently removed. (Tacitus, *Ann*. 1.1 [Jackson, LCL])

This statement is interpreted by the notable Tacitean scholar R. Syme, who explains that Tacitus' aim is 'tell the truth, [which] it is implied, will benefit the community.'[206] Tacitus is aware of other historians who have previously composed their histories and presented within them the political figures of the Empire. However, Tacitus seeks to offer his readers a new and unbiased history of Rome's governing figures from which they might benefit.

The historian Tacitus and his *Annals* are in part a good literary analogy to John and his gospel as firstly like John, Tacitus writes in the first/second century CE. Secondly, like John's gospel, Tacitus' *Annals* are written in narrative form and the historian draws on written source material for the composition of his work. It must be observed however, that Tacitus wrote in Latin and his source material, as discussed in this section, comprises of a legal document and a textually recorded speech. Nevertheless, his compositional practices still offer some interesting examples for the overarching discussion in question.

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[205] A. J. Woodman sates that 'Tacitus is acknowledged to the greatest historian of ancient Rome, and the *Annals* his greatest work.' Antony J. Woodman, *Tacitus the Annals: Translation with Introduction and Notes* (Indianapolis; Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 2004), ix. Moreover, for a recent discussion of Tacitus and his works see Victoria E. Pagán, ed., *A Companion to Tacitus* (Malden, MA; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 13-101.

[206] Ronald Syme, "Who was Tacitus?," in *Roman Papers*, vol VI, ed. Antony R. Birley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 43.

Thus, the following analysis will explore Tacitus' use and adaptation of written source material in light of his literary motivations. This will be achieved firstly by taking Tacitus' rendering of Claudius' speech concerning the citizenship of the Gauls and comparing it to Claudius' extant written speech, and secondly by taking Tacitus' retelling of the trial of Piso and comparing it to an extant legal ruling. Together both of these examples demonstrate different ways in which Tacitus adapts his source material to communicate his own perspectives on these events. These findings will then be carried forward into the second part of the study in order to assess whether the composition of the fourth gospel is best viewed as being due to the Fourth evangelist adapting source material, specifically the Gospel of Mark, to achieve his own literary aims.

Source Use and Adaptation in Selected Passages from the Annals

Tacitus draws information from the *Acta Senatus* for his *Annals*. This political document is no longer extant; however, sections of the document are preserved on bronze tablets. Thus, in this section passages from Tacitus' *Annals* will be compared to the text preserved on these bronze tablets in order to illustrate some of the ways in which he uses and freely adapts source material.

The Speech of Claudius

The first century CE emperor Claudius gave a speech to the Senate in which he addressed the motion concerning the admission of Gauls as members into the Roman Senate. A record of Claudius' speech remains partially extant in the form of a bronze tablet which was recorded originally in a document known as the *Acta Senatus*; however, this has since been lost. Traditionally, Tacitean scholarship has posited that Tacitus depends on the *Acta Senatus* for the retelling of Claudius' speech which is documented in book 11 of his *Annal*s, and is a premise which is continually accepted in Tacitean scholarship.[207] Claudius' oration regarding the admission of the Gauls into the Roman Senate naturally takes the form of a first century CE rhetorical speech. Therefore, Tacitus adapts the form and content of the speech so that he might present his own new and balanced presentation of the oration and employ the material in order that it might fit with his genre of historical narrative and relay the historical realties of the period for the benefit of his readers. This adaptation is observed by Griffin:

> Many of the discrepancies between the original and Tacitus' version spring from the historian's obligation to condense the speech and alter its style to harmonise with his

[207] Philippe Fabia, *La Table Claudienne de Lyon* (Lyon: Audin, 1929). Jérôme Carcopino, *Points de vue sur L'impérialisme romain* (Paris: 'Le Divan' (Collection Saint-Germain-Des-Prés, No. 12), 1934), 159-99. More recently M.T. Griffin posits Tacitus' use of the *Acta Senatus*. Miriam T. Griffin, "Tacitus as a Historian," in *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus*, ed. Anthony J. Woodman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 180-81.

> own, as well as his need to write an account that remains intelligible to future generations or readers.[208]
>
> [Tacitus] omitted irrelevancies and autobiographical details, altered the order and the relation of the arguments, and perhaps even added points of his own.[209]

Therefore, the following example will demonstrate some of the ways in which Tacitus uses and adapts Claudius' speech in book 11 of his *Annals*. For this example Tacitus' text will be compared to the text in the second column of the extant bronze tablet.

Tacitus begins by prefacing Claudius' speech with a large introductory section which is naturally unparalleled in Claudius' original speech on account of the genre of the source text. The Roman historian adds a scene in which the Senate responds negatively to Claudius' proposal concerning the membership of the Gauls within the Senate (Tacitus, *Ann.* 11.23). This addition is observed by Syme, who notes that 'Tacitus' operation is twofold. First he imagines the scene in the Privy Council and invents the objections, indignant and highly rhetorical. Next the speech.'[210]

Moreover, Claudius' original speech commences with the emperor recalling the historical admittance of foreigners into the Senate in order to emphasise the legitimacy of his current proposal concerning the Gauls. Tacitus presents Claudius offering similar sentiments; however, he does not copy the emperor's words verbatim, but rather thoroughly rewrites them and offers his own rendering. For example:

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[208] Griffin, "Tacitus as a Historian," 180.

[209] Miriam T. Griffin, "The Lyons Tablet and Tacetean Hindsight," *CQ* 32 (1982): 405. K. Wellesley has a particularly negative view of Tacitus' adaptation of Claudius original speech as he states 'Let us grant that Tacitus has understood and reproduced one or two of the more obvious points of the original speech. But how much else has he bungled or neglected! How soon the juxtaposition of the two speeches reveals the weaknesses of the copy! These are, in the main, four: first, the entire suppression of any characteristic feature of Claudius' style; secondly, the omission of arguments which should be there; thirdly, the addition of others which should not be there; and fourthly, an order of topics which is neither faithful to the source nor intelligible to the reader.' Kenneth Wellesley, "Can you trust Tacitus?," *G&R* 1 (1954): 26.

[210] Ronald Syme, *Tacitus* Vol 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 317.

Speech of Claudius to the Senate. *ILS, 212*	Annals 11.24
Sane novo more et divus Augustus avonculus meus et patruus T. Caesar omnem florem ubique coloniarum et municipiorum, bonorum scilicet virorum et locupletium, in hac curia esse volit.[211]	Iam moribus artibus adfinitatibus nostris mixti aurum et opes suas inferant potius quam separati habeant. Omnia, patres conscripti, quae nunc vetustissima creduntur, nova fuere: plebeii magistratus post patricios, Latini post plebeios, ceterarum Italiae gentium post Latinos. (Tacitus, *Ann*. 11.24 [Jackson, LCL])
Surely both my great uncle, the deified Augustus, and my uncle Tiberius Caesar, were following a new practice when they desired that all the flower of the colonies and the municipalities everywhere - that is the better class and the wealthy men - should sit in this senate house.[212]	Now that customs, culture, and the ties of marriage have blended them with ourselves, let them bring among us their gold and their riches instead of retaining them beyond the pale! All, Conscript Fathers, that is now believed supremely old has been new: plebeian magistrates followed the patrician; Latin, the plebeian; magistrates from the other races of Italy, the Latin. (Tacitus, *Ann*. 11.24 [Jackson, LCL])

N.P. Miller observes Tacitus' thorough rewriting of Claudius' words. She explains that 'no ancient historian, with his high regard for unity of style, would incorporate in his work another man's words, except for some specific and occasional purpose, and then very briefly.'[213] Additionally, Tacitus notably transposes the position of this material as in Claudius' original speech the material is presented at the beginning, while in Tacitus' rewritten Claudian speech it is situated at the end. Miller notes that Tacitus likely changes the position of this material in order to improve the speech by 'produc[ing] a more forceful ending for his speech than exists in the original one' and thus making it more coherent with the historian's overall compositional style.[214] Subsequently, Tacitus seems to add a large section of new material to the beginning of Claudius' speech. The Roman historian offers information for the benefit of his readers as he portrays Claudius offering information concerning notable senatorial families, including his own, who have gained citizenship despite originating from outwith Italy. Additionally, he presents Claudius noting the military benefit of giving citizenship to foreigners (Tacitus, *Ann*. 11.24). In relation to this material, Miller correctly points out that material of this nature may have been situated in a position within Claudius' original speech which is no longer extant.[215] Furthermore, in the original oration Claudius' speech appears to digress. For example, in a medium sized section of material, the emperor positively discusses the senator Lucius Vestinus from Vienne and talks about bestowing priesthoods upon his children, and he further states that the Romans should not regret the acceptance of senators from Gallia Narbonensis

[211] "Claudius' Speech to the senate" (E. Mary Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius Claudius & Nero* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967], 97-8).

[212] "Admission of Provincials to the Senate" (Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold, *Roman Civilisation: Selected Readings* Vol 2 [New York: Columbia University Press, 1951], 131-34.)

[213] Norma P. Miller, "The Claudian Tablet and Tacitus: A Reconsideration," *RHM* 99 (1956): 304-15.

[214] Miller, "The Claudian Tablet and Tacitus: A Reconsideration," 308.

[215] Miller, "The Claudian Tablet and Tacitus A Reconsideration," 312.

and Lugdunum. Tacitus omits this material completely since, as noted by Griffin, he probably seeks to 'tighten the argument and improve the speech stylistically by omitting Claudius' irrelevant digressions.'[216] Consequently, Tacitus continues to follow the original speech by including a reference to the Romans' prior conflict with the Gauls and the subsequent peace that has since existed between them. Again Tacitus does not copy the emperor's words verbatim, but rather thoroughly rewrites them and offers his own rendering. For example:

Speech of Claudius to the Senate. *ILS, 212*	Annals 11.24
In qua si quis hoc intuetur quod bello per decem annos exercuerunt divom Iulium, idem opponat centum annorum immobilem fidem obsequiumque multis trepidis rebus nostris plus quam expertum.[217]	Ac tamen, si cuncta bella recenseas, nullum breviore spatio quam adversus Gallos confectum: continua inde ac fida pax. (Tacitus, *Ann*. 11.24 [Jackson, LCL])
And if anyone, in this connection, has in mind that these people engaged the deified Julius in war for ten years, let him set against that the unshakable loyalty and obedience of a hundred years, tested to the full in many of our crises.[218]	And yet, if you survey the whole of our wars, not one was finished within a shorter period than that against the Gauls: thenceforward there has been a continuous and loyal peace. (Tacitus, *Ann*. 11.24 [Jackson, LCL])

Finally, in the original speech of Claudius, the emperor praises the Gauls for assisting his father when he was at war with Germany. Tacitus completely omits this small section of material, as rather than presenting a personal petition, the Roman historian throughout his version of Claudius' speech seeks to offer for the benefit of his readers 'a coherent treatment of the thesis that the Roman tradition sanctions the continual infusion of new blood into the citizen body and the governing classes.'[219]

The Trial of Piso

Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso (44/43 BCE – 20 CE) was a Roman statesman who was thought to have murdered Germanicus and who was also accused of military and political misconduct. He stood trial before the Senate in Rome in 20CE. A record of the Senate's decree relating to Piso's trial remains extant in the form of bronze inscriptions, the *senatus consultum Cn. Pisone Patre* (*SCPP*), which was also recorded originally in the *Acta Senatus*. Following the discovery of these inscriptions, W. Eck, A. Caballos, and F. Fernández studied the Senate's decree and posited that Tacitus depends on this the *Acta Senatus* for his retelling of the trial of

[216] Griffin, "Tacitus as Historian", 181.
[217] "Claudius' Speech to the senate" (E. Mary Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius Claudius & Nero* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967], 97-8).
[218] "Admission of Provincials to the Senate" (Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold, *Roman Civilisation: Selected Readings* Vol 2 [New York: Columbia University Press, 1951], 131-34.)
[219] Griffin, "Tacitus as Historian," 181.

Piso which is presented in books 2 and 3 of his *Annals*, a premise which has been continually accepted in Tacitean scholarship.[220]

The *SCPP* is a legal document and its form and content reflect its genre. Therefore, Tacitus adapts the decree so that he might present his own new account and in order that the material might fit with his genre of historical narrative and relay the historical realties of the period for the benefit of his readers. Moreover, Griffin observes that the Senate's decree appears to be biased in favour of Germanicus.[221] An example of the biased perspective of the decree is clearly evident when it states that 'the remarkable restraint and forbearance of Germanicus Caesar were overborne by the savagery of the elder Cn. Piso's character' (*SCPP* 25).[222] Thus, Tacitus also adapts the material within the decree in order to offer a more balanced account. Therefore, the following example will demonstrate some of the ways in which Tacitus uses and adapts the Senate's decree in book 3 of his *Annals*. In this example Tacitus' text will be compared to the text on the extant bronze tablets.

The *SCPP* commences with a prescript, the four points to be discussed, and an expression of thanks to the gods and Tiberius (*SCPP* 1-22). Additionally, the decree concludes with an expression of thanks to the senate, praise to the plebs, and commendation to the soldiers, an order to publish the decree, and Tiberius' *subscription* (*SCPP* 123-176), Tacitus naturally omits these two large sections of legal material as it is obviously not suitable for his genre of historical narrative. On Tacitus' intentional omission of material from the decree, C. Damon notes 'if Tacitus omits a detail from the *SCPP*, he did not do so because he was ignorant of it, but because he did not want it.'[223] However, the Roman historian in part follows the middle section of the decree. Both Tacitus and the decree depict Piso as an 'assistant' (adiutorem) to Germanicus (Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.12 [Jackson, LCL] // *SCPP* 29-30). Moreover, Tacitus and the decree both describe the acts of political and military misconduct committed by Piso; however, Tacitus notably alters Piso's crimes. For example, the decree notes that Piso 'stirred up both an Armenian and a Parthian war' (*SCPP* 38), he was 'corrupted by the great gifts of Vonones' (*SCPP* 45), and he tried to 'stir up civil war… by trying to return to the province of Syria after the death of Germanicus Caesar' (*SCPP* 46-47). Yet, Tacitus in the *Annals* notes that Piso's administration in Spain had been surrounded with 'intrigue and cupidity', he had maltreated the allies and corrupted the solders, and he had 'been ruthless to the best men, especially the companions and friends of Germanicus' (Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.13 [Jackson, LCL]). Additionally, in both the decree and Tacitus' narrative, Piso is

[220] Werner Eck, Antonio Caballos, and Fernando Fernández, *Das Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1996). More recently M. T. Griffin and R. Mellor posit Tacitus' use of the *SCPP*. Griffin, "Tacitus and a Historian," 177-80. Ronald Mellor, *Tacitus' Annals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 22-40.

[221] Miriam Griffin, "The Senate's Story," *JRS* 87 (1997): 260. Griffin, "Tacitus as a Historian," 179.

[222] David S. Potter and Cynthia Damon, "The "Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre"," *AJP* 120 (1999): 13-42.

[223] Cynthia Damon, "The Trial of Piso in Tacitus' Annals and the "Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre": A New Light on Narrative Technique," *AJP* 120 (1999), 148.

accused of poisoning Germanicus (Tacitus, *Ann.* 13.2 // *SCPP* 28). However, Tacitus continues his narrative by including a medium sized section of material relating to Piso's defence in which it is argued that he could not have poisoned Germanicus (Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.1-2). Griffin proposes that this additional material utilised by Tacitus would have been found in the archives of the senate.[224] The Roman historian likely adds this defence to go along with the prosecution in order to offer a more balanced account of Piso's trial and to inform his readers by giving them an accurate representation of the historical reality. Furthermore, Tacitus and the decree both mention Piso's wife, Plancina, against whom charges were also brought and both texts relay that Julia Augustus, the mother of Tiberius, used her position to pardon Plancina (Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.1 and *SCPP* 115-120). In line with his usual compositional style, Tacitus thoroughly rewrites the aforementioned material putting it into his own words. Additionally, Tacitus notably transposes this material as in the decree it is positioned after the material relating to Piso's suicide whereas in the *Annals* it is situated before the material concerning Piso's suicide. Finally, both Tacitus and the decree record the case of Piso's suicide; however, Tacitus adds a further medium sized section of text, by mentioning a suicide note written by Piso, which in turn casts doubt on his guilt. The note begins 'broken by a confederacy of my enemies and the hatred inspired by their lying accusation, since the world has no room for my truth and innocence' (Tacitus, *Ann*. 3.16. [Jackson, LCL]). Therefore, Tacitus' adaptations can be seen as a thoroughgoing programme to recast Piso as a figure falsely judged by the Senate, and innocent of the charges brought against him. In relation to this A.J. Woodman and R.H. Martin observe 'Tacitus characteristically converts the monument's monotonous confidence into discrepancy and doubt.'[225] Tacitus again likely makes this addition for the benefit of his readers as R.J.A. Talbert notes, 'the *SCPP* is summing up for an empire-wide audience the verdict the Senate has reached on each defendant, and how each is to be dealt with. Tacitus' concern as a historian, on the other hand, is the fuller one of offering his readers in-sight into all sides of the case as a whole.'[226]

Summary of findings

The foregoing analysis has demonstrated that Tacitus, a literary contemporary of the fourth evangelist, thoroughly reworks his source material for use in his *Annals*. Tacitus is not a slavish copier or uncreative recorder of source material. Instead he freely adapts his written source material. The preceding discussion has illustrated that Tacitus does not copy his sources verbatim, but rather he thoroughly rewrites the material to the extent that he shares no verbal agreements whatsoever with his sources. Moreover, Tacitus' thoroughgoing adaptation may be further categorised

[224] Griffin, 'The Senate's Story', 260. Griffin, 'Tacitus as a Historian', 178-79.

[225] Anthony J. Woodman and Ronald H. Martin, *The Annals of Tacitus Book 3* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 117.

[226] Richard J A. Talbert, "Tacitus and the "Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre"," *AJP* 120 (1999): 98.

under four headings: (i) additions - the addition of unparalleled material to the source material, (ii) omissions - the omission of material in the source material, (iii) alterations - the alteration of aspects already in the source material, and (iv) transpositions - the transposition of material from its original position in the source material.

i. Additions: Tacitus adds medium (5-20 lines in the written text) sized sections of text within his narration of Claudius' speech and Piso's trial. Additionally, the historian adds a large (20 or more lines in the written text) section of narrative within his narration of Claudius' speech.
ii. Omissions: Tacitus removes medium (5-20 line in the written text) sized sections of text from his source containing Claudius' speech. Additionally, the historian removes large (20 or more lines in the written text) sections of legal text from his source contain the Senate's decree. He does so in each case as the material does not suit his authorial aims.
iii. Alterations: Tacitus significantly changes the portrayal of the Piso, his principle character.
iv. Transpositions: Tacitus for the most part follows his sources in their arrangement of material; however, he notably moves material from its original position at the beginning of Claudius' speech and resituates it at the end of his own rendering of Claudius' speech.

In these two example passages it has been shown that within a single passage, Tacitus extensively employs a variety of methods to freely adapt his source material and create his own new piece of writing.

iii. Josephus' Use and Adaptation of Source Material

Josephus (37-100CE) was a Jewish historian, apologist, and autobiographer whose largest work was his *Jewish Antiquities*.[227] This is a substantial twenty book work which tells the story of the Jewish people from creation up to the commencement of the Jewish War.[228] In this part, selected passages from Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* will be assessed in order to demonstrate how Josephus uses and adapts his written source material.

Josephus explains in the preface to his work the impetus for composing *Jewish Antiquities*:

[227] For recent discussions of Josephus see Steve Mason, "Josephus," in *Encyclopaedia of Second-Temple Judaism*, ed. Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Daniel M. Gurtner (London: T&T Clark, forthcoming). Steve Mason, "Josephus," in *Early Jewish Literature: An Anthology*, ed. Archie T. Wright, Brad Embry, and Ronald Herms (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2018), 252-357.

[228] P. Bilde refers to *Jewish Antiquities* as a 'truly voluminous work'. Per Bilde, *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome: His Life, his Works, and their Importance* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 80.

> I have taken in hand this present task thinking that it will appear to all the Greeks deserving of studious attention. For it is going to encompass our entire ancient history and constitution of the state, translated from the Hebrew writings. (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.5 [Feldman, FJTC])

Josephus explains that he seeks to offer the Greek speaking gentile world a comprehensive history of the Jewish people. Moreover, Josephus states that the content of his work is a 'translation (μεθηρμηνευμένην) of the Hebrew writings'. Books 1-10, 12-13 of *Jewish Antiquities* rely on the Jewish scriptures from the book of Genesis through to the book of Daniel and including 1-2 Esdras, Esther, and 1 Maccabees. However, despite his claim, Josephus does not seem to have merely translated a Hebrew text. This is observed by H. Attridge:

> Throughout these first ten books, Josephus basically provides an interpretative paraphrase of Scripture, embellished with diverse legendary materials. The text of Scripture used throughout is a Greek version.[229]

Furthermore, in books 12, 14-20, Josephus rewrites material from the *Letter of Aristeas*, the historical work of Nicolas of Damascus, and the historical work of Cluvius Rufus.[230] A more thorough discussion of Josephus' compositional motivations and his methods of paraphrasing and rewriting will be discussed in the following sections.

Josephus and his *Jewish Antiquities* are a good literary analogy to John and his gospel as firstly, like John, Josephus wrote in Greek in the first century CE. Secondly, like John's gospel, Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* are written in narrative form and like John's proposed Markan source, Josephus' sources are written in narrative form.

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[229] Harold W. Attridge, "Josephus and his Works," *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, ed. Michael E. Stone (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 211. In the Loeb critical edition, Thackeray similarly states 'Josephus bases the first part of his narrative on the Biblical story; but his role as "translator" is limited. For the later historical books (1 Samuel to 1 Maccabees), and to a less extent for the Pentateuch, he is largely dependent on the Alexandrian Greek Bible, which he merely paraphrases.' Josephus. *Jewish Antiquities*, trans, Henry St. J. Thackeray vol 1 books 1-3 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930), 5.

[230] For a further discussion of these sources see Bilde, *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome*, 80-8. Attridge, 'Josephus and his works,' 211-16. Moreover, for a specific discussion of Josephus' use of the *Letter of Aristeas* see André Pelletier, *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1962). Additionally, for a specific discussion of Josephus' use of Nicolas of Damascus' work see Daniel Schwartz, "Josephus and Nicolaus on the Pharisees," *JSJ* 14 (1883): 157-71. Mark Toher, "Nicolaus and Herod in the Antiquitates Judaicae," *HSCP* 101 (2003): 427-47.

Josephus' Claim Regarding the Modification of Scripture

At the beginning of *Jewish Antiquities*, Josephus makes a promise to his readers concerning his treatment of biblical source material. Following his earlier statement that his work is a translation of the Hebrew writings, Josephus claims:

> This narrative will, therefore, in due course, set forth the precise (ἀκριβῆ) details of what is in the Scriptures according to its proper order. For I promised that I would do this throughout this treatise, neither adding nor omitting anything. (Josephus, *Ant*. 1.17 [Feldman, FJTC])

Although Josephus makes this promise to be faithful to his scriptural source material, the content of his text evidences quite the opposite. In places the text demonstrates the extensive use of addition and omission. This inconsistency along with Josephus' misleading claim that his work is simply a translation is highlighted by S. Mason:

> Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* is a thoroughly tendentious interpretation of the records rather than a translation. He omits a great deal, adds significant portions, and casts the whole history into a frame that suits his literary purposes…it is a *tour de force* in the service of his literary aims.[231]

Moreover, it is not only at the beginning of his work that Josephus makes this promise concerning the accurate presentation of the scriptures within his narrative. Throughout his work the author further discusses his handling of the biblical source material. For example, he states 'we have added (προσθέντων) nothing for embellishment' (Josephus, *Ant*. 4.196 [Feldman, FJTC]) and 'we shall now speak of the events that followed immediately thereafter, keeping in mind one thing above all else, which is not to omit (παραλιπεῖν) anything…' (Josephus, *Ant*. 14.1 [Marcus and Wikgren, LCL]). Furthermore, at the close of his work, Josephus states 'for I think that I have drawn up the whole story in full and accurate (ἀκριβείας) detail' (Josephus, *Ant*. 20.161 [Feldman, LCL]). Therefore, Josephus' promise and subsequent method seem contradictory. However, S. Inowlocki has sought to reconcile Josephus' claim and consequent practice.[232] Following several lines of inquiry, Inowlocki firstly proposes that Josephus may have made this claim of accuracy as such a practice was common among ancient historiographers. Thus, she suggests 'by using an ἀκριβεία terminology, Josephus may therefore have attempted to adhere to the Greek and Platonic terminology in order to adapt his narrative to his Greek speaking readership.'[233] Secondly, she proposes that the vocabulary which

[231] Steve Mason, "Josephus and his Twenty-Two Book Canon," in *The Canon Debate*, ed. Lee M. McDonald and James A. Sanders (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002), 210.

[232] For a discussion of nine different interpretations concerning Josephus' promise of accuracy see Louis H. Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1998), 37-46.

[233] Sabrina Inowlocki, "Neither Adding nor Omitting Anything: Josephus' promise not to Modify the Scriptures in a Greek and Latin Context," *JHS* 54 (2005): 54. On Josephus adhering with Graeco-

Josephus employs to describe the practice of 'translation' demonstrates that he perhaps understood his work to be an interpretation rather than a translation. For example, she shows that Josephus employs the verbs ἑρμηνεύω (Josephus, *Ant*. 1.5), μεταφράζω (Josephus, *Ant*. 10.218),[234] and ἀπαγγέλλω (Josephus, *Ant*. 10.218; 20.261) to describe his act of translation, but that each of these verbs can also mean 'interpretation'. Thus, she suggests that Josephus 'sees his work as an interpretation, and certainly not as a mere translation.'[235] Thirdly, Inowlocki demonstrates that Josephus' promise not to add or omit from his scriptural source material fits with the claims made by his literary contemporaries. For example, she illustrates the method of Porphyry who, as preserved in Eusebius, promises not to add or omit anything from his collection of oracles; however, he admits that he adapts the original for the sake of the purpose of his own work, but in turn states that he has preserved the sense of the original.[236]

Therefore, Inowlocki's discussion concerning Josephus' promise of accuracy highlights that it was a common ancient literary practice for an author to retain the sense of their source material while simultaneously adding to and omitting from the content of their source. Additionally, she demonstrates that as an author Josephus is an example of this type of source use.

Source Use and Adaptation in Josephus' Jewish Antiquities

Josephus' use and adaptation of biblical material has been previously investigated.[237] A particularly important contribution to this discussion has been made by C. Begg whose study explores Josephus' rewritten account of the early divided monarchy. He directly compares individual passages within Jewish *Antiquities* 8.212-240 to parallel material in the biblical text. By doing so he seeks to 'examine the "what" and "why" of Josephus' rewriting of the biblical source story.'[238] Through comparing Josephus' text to that of the author's source, Begg observes that Josephus is 'a redactor who

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Roman literary practices see also Shayne J D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002), 28-32 and Gregory E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephus, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography* (Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1992), 253.

[234] Interestingly in Theon's *Progymnasmata* the verb μεταφράζω is intended to mean 'paraphrase': And all the ancients generally appear to have made excellent use of the paraphrase (παραφρὰσει) in recasting not only their own words, but also those of one another. In paraphrasing (μεταφράξων) Homer when he says… (Theon 1.105). The Greek text and translation has been taken from Butts, *The Progymnasmata of Theon*, 106-7.

[235] Inowlocki, "Neither Adding nor Omitting Anything," 54.

[236] Inowlocki further demonstrates that Aristobulus, Cicero, Horace, and Thucydides similarly adapt their source material but claim to retain the sense of the original. Inowlocki, "Neither Adding nor Omitting Anything," 56-64.

[237] For an extensive bibliography and discussion of scholar's work concerning Josephus' modification of the biblical texts see Louis H. Feldman, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship: 1937-1980* (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), 125-30.

[238] Christopher Begg, *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy (AJ 8,212-420): Rewriting the Bible* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 5.

allows himself a considerable amount of freedom to modify the source's presentation on matters of detail'.[239] Thus, Begg in turn demonstrates 'what' reworking techniques Josephus' utilises. He classifies Josephus' adaptation of his biblical source under four categories: (i) 'omissions', (ii) 'rearrangements', (iii) 'modifications', (iv) 'additions'. Firstly, under the technique of 'omission', Begg observes that Josephus 'leaves aside a considerable number of small-to-medium size items of the biblical sources from his own presentation.' Secondly, under the technique of 'rearrangement', Begg notices that Josephus 'for the most part simply follows his sources in the arrangement of material, both within individual episodes and for the sequence of episodes…however, he allows himself occasional liberties in both respects.' Thirdly, under the technique of 'modification', Begg describes three types of modification: terminological, stylistic, and contentual. Fourthly, under the technique of 'addition', Begg notes that 'Josephus not only modifies the existing wording of his source text(s); he also makes additions thereto.' In addition, Begg describes eight types of addition: stylistic, naming, elucidatory, for gentile authors, connective, evaluative, psychologizing, and moral-theological.[240]

Moreover, Begg further seeks to demonstrate 'why' Josephus adapted his biblical source material. He suggests that Josephus' adaptations may be the result of the author's desire to 'provide readers with a narrative that is smoother-reading, as well and more readily comprehensible, unambiguous, and unproblematic than the original(s)' and to 'offer a Hellenised improvement of the original'.[241] Furthermore, Begg asserts that Josephus' rewriting of the biblical text was not the result of the author wishing to offer an apologetic history of the Jewish people. Thus, he states 'Josephus' account is not substantially more 'apologetic' than that of his source in the sense that he does not attempt to cover over or conceal the many failings of both kings and people.'[242]

This interpretation of Josephus' literary motivations is contrary to the interpretation offered by L.H. Feldman. The latter author asserts 'the main factor explaining Josephus' modification of the Bible is apologetic – that is, answering anti-Jewish charges', charges made against the Jews by gentiles.[243] For example, in regard to Josephus' portrayal of biblical characters, Feldman suggests that through his presentation of these biblical personalities the Jewish apologist is responding to the charge of the gentiles that the Jews failed to produce any 'marvellous' (θαυμαστούς) men, as addressed in his apologetic work *Against Apion* (Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.135).[244] Feldman even goes so far as to propose that 'the *Antiquities* is, in effect, a

[239] Begg, *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy (AJ 8,212-420)*, 284.
[240] Begg, *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy (AJ 8,212-420)*, 278-84.
[241] Begg, *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy (AJ 8,212-420)*, 285.
[242] Begg, *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy (AJ 8,212-420)*, 286.
[243] Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*, 660.
[244] Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*, 74.

preliminary version of his *Against Apion*.'[245] As part of his discussion, Feldman comments on Josephus' characterisation of the biblical figures:

> Josephus presents hero after hero as possessing the attributes of outstanding genealogy, precociousness, physical attractiveness, wealth, the gift of leadership, and, in particular, the four cardinal virtues of wisdom, courage, temperance, and justice, together with the fifth virtue of piety. Like Plato's philosopher-king, his biblical leaders—notably, Moses, Josiah, Ezra, and Nehemiah—are depicted as able to teach and persuade. He lays special stress on the wisdom of many of the biblical figures—notably Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, and Solomon, making them, in effect, syntheses of Pericles as depicted by Thucydides, the philosopher-king described by Plato, and the Stoic sage.[246]

Feldman concludes that Josephus' rewriting of biblical material is 'motivated largely by his apologetic aims' and that these aims 'explain his additions, deletions, and modifications.'[247] Additionally, on a more basic level, Feldman, in line with Begg, observes that Josephus also makes changes to his biblical source material in order to improve the presentation of his material and offer a more pleasing text for his gentile audience, as he remarks 'Josephus sought not only to answer the charges of enemies of the Jews but also to improve upon the style of his sources'.[248]

Moreover, focusing more specifically on the methods used by Josephus, S.J.D. Cohen analyses Josephus' use of sources in light of ancient compositional practices. He observes:

> An author was expected to take some liberties with his source. He could freely invent details to increase the color and dramatic interest of the account. He was expected to recast the narrative, to put his own stamp upon it, to use material for his own purposes, to create something new.[249]

Subsequently, Cohen argues that Josephus 'fits squarely' in this tradition and his methods stem from this tradition.[250] He even goes so far as to suggest that Josephus' adaptive methods are comparable with those employed by Livy in his adaptation of Polybius and those utilised by Plutarch in his adaptation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[251] Cohen perhaps over-emphasises the degree to which Josephus adapts his biblical source material by comparing his methods to the thorough-going

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[245] Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible* 660. Feldman proposes that in *Jewish Antiquities* Josephus, through his rewriting of the biblical text, responds to further charges as addressed in *Against Apion*: establishing the historicity of biblical events, rehabilitation of non-Jewish leaders, the problem of assimilation and inter-marriage, appeal to political interests. Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*, 132-48.

[246] Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*, 662-63. For further discussion of Josephus' characterisation see Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*, 74-131. See also Louis H. Feldman, *Studies in Josephus' Rewritten Bible* (Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 1998), 546-51.

[247] Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*, 669.

[248] Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*, 163.

[249] Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*, 31.

[250] Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*, 29, 31.

[251] Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*, 30.

adaptations made by Livy and Plutarch to their source material. Nevertheless, he is wholly correct to situate Josephus within this literary culture and to investigate the Jewish author's use of sources in light of common literary practices.

Thus, the analysis in the following section will explore Josephus' use and adaptation of his biblical source material in light of his apologetic aims - particularly his positive portrayal of biblical characters.[252] Additionally, where relevant, Josephus' basic changes for the sake of narrative improvement will be discussed. This will be achieved by taking as an example a passage from Josephus' material concerning Saul and a passage from the author's material regarding Mattathias and comparing these passages to the extant biblical source material, thereby demonstrating the different ways in which Josephus adapts his source material. These findings will then be carried forward into the second part of the study in order to assess whether the composition of John's gospel is best viewed as being due to the fourth evangelist adapting source material, specifically the Gospel of Mark, to achieve his own literary aims.

Source Use and Adaptation in Josephus' Character Portrayal of Saul and Mattathias

Josephus' portrayal of Saul

King Saul's reign is depicted in 1 Samuel 9-31 and the narrative is retold by Josephus (Josephus, *Ant.* 6.45-397). The difference between the portrayal of Saul in the biblical narrative and in *Jewish Antiquities* is observed by Feldman: 'Whereas in certain passages of the Bible Saul appears to be an outright villain, Josephus without whitewashing him completely, presents a much more favourable portrait of Saul.'[253] For example, at the end of Josephus' presentation of Saul's reign the author praises the king's character in a description absent in the biblical text: 'Such a man alone, in

[252] The first century CE Jewish writer and philosopher Philo similarly uses biblical material (Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy) in order to write his *Life of Moses*. Additionally, within Philo's biography of Moses, B. McGing identifies various compositional techniques employed by the author. He observes that Philo reworks his biblical source material for a non-Jewish audience and utilises the following techniques: omission, adaptation, abridgement, chronological displacement, transfer of an item from one character to another, expansion. These techniques overlap with those employed by his Jewish literary contemporary Josephus and help build a picture of source adaptation by Jewish authors. Brian McGing, "Philo's Adaptation of the Bible in his *Life of Moses*," in *The Limits of Ancient Biography*, ed. Brian McGing and Judith Mossman (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2006), 117-40.

[253] Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*, 509-510. Feldman also discusses how Josephus employs adaptation to deal with Saul's most negative traits, namely his madness and jealousy. Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*, 533-35. Moreover, for a discussion of Saul's character in the biblical narrative see W Lee. Humphreys, "From Tragic Hero to Villain: A Study of the Figure of Saul and the Development of 1 Samuel," *JSOT* 7 (1982): 95-117. Additionally, for a discussion of Saul's character in a positive light in the biblical text see Gregory Moberly, "Glimpses of the Heroic Saul," in *Saul in Story and Tradition*, ed. Carl S. Ehrlich., FAT 47 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 80-118.

my opinion, is just, valiant and wise, and he, if any has been or shall be such, deserves to have all men acknowledge his virtue' (*Ant*. 6.346 [Begg, FJTC]).[254]

As has been previously noted, Josephus' source for his material concerning Saul is the biblical text of 1 Samuel. However, determining which version of the biblical text Josephus uses is a particularly complicated task. Due to this complexity, the majority of scholars suggest that Josephus draws interchangeably on both the Hebrew and the Greek versions of the biblical text. For example, H.J. Thackeray originally proposed that for his retelling of 1 Samuel through to 1 Maccabees, Josephus uses the Greek text of 'Lucianic type' as the basis of his narrative and the Hebrew text acts simply as a subsidiary source.[255] A similar position has subsequently been held by Attridge and Cohen.[256] Additionally, E.C. Ulrich proposes that Josephus uses a Greek text of the books of Samuel which is 'strikingly close' to 4QSam, and which may account for his text's affinities with a Hebrew text.[257] Conversely, M. Avioz proposes that for his retelling of 1 and 2 Samuel, Josephus draws on both the Hebrew and Greek version of the biblical text. Yet Avioz is drawn more to the premise of Josephus' predominate use of the Hebrew version with limited use of the Greek version.[258] Additionally, É. Nodet argues that for his retelling of the books of Samuel, Josephus depends solely on an 'altered Hebrew source' and that his affinities with a 'Lucianic recension' are on account of both texts drawing on a 'common Hebrew source', which may account for his text's affinities with a Greek text.[259]

In Josephus' retelling of Saul's first encounter with the Philistines his text appears to have affinities with both the Hebrew and the Greek versions of 1 Samuel. Thus, the following example will compare Josephus' text to both the Hebrew and the Greek texts in order to demonstrate some of the ways in which Josephus uses and adapts his biblical source.

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[254] M. Avioz disagrees with Feldman as he states 'ultimately, Josephus portrays a negative picture of King Saul.' Michael Avioz, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Books of Samuel.,* LSTS 86 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2005), 54. Additionally, P. Spilsbury notes that Josephus offers a generally negative picture of Saul. He suggests that in light of the somewhat negative portrayal of the King in 1 Samuel, Josephus 'considered it damaging to his overall purpose to present a wholly censorious picture of a figure as eminent as Saul.' Paul Spilsbury, *The Image of the Jew in Flavius Josephus' Paraphrase of the Bible*., TSAJ 69 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 170-71.

[255] Henry St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus: The Man and the Historian* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1967 [1929]), 81, 85.

[256] Harold W. Attridge, *The Interpretation of Biblical History in the Antiquitates Judaicae of Flavius Josephus* (Missoula, MT; Chico, CA; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1976), 30-1. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*, 35-6.

[257] Eugene C. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (Missoula, MT; Chico, CA; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1978), 191.

[258] Avioz, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Books of Samuel*, 20, 200-1.

[259] Étienne Nodet, "Josephus and the Books of Samuel," in *Studies in Josephus and the Varieties of Ancient Judaism: Louis H. Feldman Jubilee Edition*, ed. Shayne J D. Cohen and Joshua J. Schwartz (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 142, 148-51.

Saul and his encounter with the Philistines

Through his presentation of Saul, Josephus seeks to offer a positive presentation of the king as a figure who possessed qualities appealing to a gentile audience. Feldman notes that from the beginning of his narrative, Josephus 'aggrandizes' Saul's character in order to portray him as a 'Hellenised Jewish hero'.[260] A good example where Josephus appears to use and adapt material from 1 Samuel in order to offer a positive and appealing portrait of Saul, and where he changes material to offer a more pleasing narrative for his gentile audience is found in the account of the king's first encounter with the Philistines. It is to this example that we shall now turn, with the presentation of Saul specifically being discussed in the latter half of the analysis.

Josephus follows the biblical text by outlining Saul's division of men between himself and his son Jonathan (Josephus, *Ant*. 6.95 // MT and LXX 1 Sam 13:2). Josephus follows the biblical text closely, yet he does not translate the Hebrew faithfully or copy the Greek verbatim, rather he deliberately paraphrases his source material. For example:

1 Samuel 13:2 (MT)	1 Samuel 13:2 (LXX)	Jewish Antiquities 6.95
יִבְחַר־לוֹ שָׁאוּל שְׁלֹשֶׁת אֲלָפִים מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּהְיוּ עִם־שָׁאוּל אַלְפַּיִם בְּמִכְמָשׂ וּבְהַר בֵּית־אֵל וְאֶלֶף הָיוּ עִם־יְוֹנָתָן בְּגִבְעַת בִּנְיָמִין…	Καὶ ἐκλέγεται Σαουλ ἑαυτῷ τρεῖς χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν Ισραηλ, καὶ ἦσαν μετὰ Σαουλ δισχίλιοι ἐν Μαχεμας καὶ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Βαιθηλ, χίλιοι ἦσαν μετὰ Ιωναθαν ἐν Γαβεε τοῦ Βενιαμιν….	Οὗτος δ' ἐπιλέξας ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ὡς τρισχιλίους τοὺς μὲν δισχιλίους ὥστε σωματοφυλακεῖν αὐτὸν λαβὼν αὐτὸς διέτριβεν ἐν πόλει Βεθήβῳ, Ἰωνάθῃ δὲ τῷ παιδὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς δοὺς ὥστε σωματοφυλακεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς Γεβὰλ ἔπεμψε. (Josephus, *Ant* 6.95 [Begg, FJTC])
And Saul chose for himself three thousand [men] of Israel and they were with Saul in Michmash and the mountains of Bethel and a thousand were with Jonathan in Gibea of Benjamin……	And Saul chose for himself three thousand men from the men of Israel, and two thousand were with Saul in Machemas and in the hill [country] of Baithel, one thousand were with Jonathan in Gabee of Benjamin……	Now [Saoul] chose from the crowd about 3,000 men, of whom he took 2,000 as his bodyguards, and resided in the city of Betheb. He gave the remainder to his son Ionathes to be his bodyguard and sent him to Gebal. (Josephus, Ant 6.95 [Begg, FJTC])

Feldman observes Josephus' intentional and extensive variation of the language drawn from his source material. He proposes that Josephus follows the ancient compositional convention of paraphrase, and he suggests that like his literary contemporaries, Aeschines, Livy, and Plutarch who utilised paraphrase, Josephus was 'fearful of the dreaded accusation of plagiarism.[261] Additionally, in the biblical text the material concerning Saul's distribution of men concludes with the phrase 'and the rest of the people he sent away separately, each to his dwelling' (MT and

[260] Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*, 510-12.
[261] Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*, 164.

LXX 1 Sam 13:2). This phrase is contradictory as the three thousand men chosen have all been distributed between Saul and Jonathan, two thousand and one thousand respectively, thus leaving no remainder to be sent away. Therefore, Josephus omits this small phrase in line with his objective to offer a more pleasing text free of contradictions.[262] Moreover, Josephus appears to continue by following the Hebrew text, as both relate that Jonathan subsequently attacked a Philistine 'garrison' (φρούριον) (נְצִיב) (Josephus, *Ant*. 6.96 [Begg, FJTC]; MT 1 Sam 13:3).[263] Consequently, Josephus continues independently and offers clarification for Jonathan's actions.[264] The material used here is notably transposed from a later position in the biblical narrative. Avioz observes this and notes 'it is evident that Josephus rearranged the order of events in his adaptation of Saul's war against the Philistines.'[265] Additionally, the content of this material is moderately altered by Josephus. At the close of the biblical pericope the author mentions that the Philistines had a monopoly over the iron works in Israel and that the Israelites were dependent upon them for their weaponry (MT and LXX 1 Sam 13:19-21). Yet, Josephus relates that the Philistines had attacked and conquered the Israelites and had subsequently taken away the Israelites' weaponry and forbidden them to carry or use weaponry (Josephus, *Ant*. 6.96).[266] Thus, Josephus transposes the altered material as in its new position it offers coherency to the narrative by making sense of Jonathan's actions.[267] Moreover, in the biblical text the author proceeds by relaying Saul's ensuing actions. In the MT, Saul is depicted as blowing a trumpet, alerting the Israelites to Jonathan's attack upon the Philistines, and informing the Israelites that they 'had become a stench' (נִבְאַשׁ) to the Philistines (MT 1 Sam 13:4). Similarly, in the LXX, Saul is described as blowing a trumpet, but he is depicted as simply informing the Israelites of Jonathan's attack upon the Philistines by declaring that 'the slaves have revolted' (LXX 1 Sam 13:3b-4). The biblical text and Josephus then both subsequently introduce the notion of the Philistines' attack upon the Israelites (Josephus, *Ant*. 6.97-98 // MT and LXX 1 Sam 13:5). Josephus completely omits this small section of aforementioned material relating to Saul's actions and by doing so perhaps removes the notion that the Jews were hated by foreigners, a notion present particularly in the

[262] For a thorough discussion of Josephus' use of omission to remove contradictions from his narrative see Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*, 164-71. Feldman, Studies in *Josephus' Rewritten Bible*, 560-62.

[263] The LXX B reads 'Nasib' a personal name. Begg suggests that the Lucianic text reads 'garrison'. Christopher T. Begg, *Judean Antiquities Books 5-7: Translation and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 125.

[264] For a discussion concerning Josephus' portrayal of Jonathan in *Jewish Antiquities* see Michael Avioz, "Josephus' Retelling of the Jonathan Narratives," *JSP* 22 (2012): 68-86. Christopher T. Begg, "The Adventures of Jonathan According to Josephus," *Sacra Scripta* 7 (2009): 7-31.

[265] Avioz, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Books of Samuel*, 33.

[266] For a discussion of the presentation of the Philistines in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* see Michael Avioz, "The Philistines in Josephus' Writings," *TZ* 71 (2015): 144-55.

[267] For further examples and discussion of the transposition of material in *Jewish Antiquities* see Begg, *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy (AJ 8,212-420)*, 278-279. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*, 39-42.

MT. Feldman suggests that this is part of his larger apologetic, as throughout *Jewish Antiquities*, Josephus seeks to 'emphasize that Gentile nations are not motivated by hatred of the Jews.'[268] Thus, Josephus eliminates the idea that the Philistines attacked the Israelites out of hatred for them.

Now turning to the presentation of Saul, Josephus continues to follow the biblical text by relaying that Saul was faced by a large Philistine army consisting of chariots, horsemen, and footmen (Josephus, *Ant*. 6.97 // MT and LXX 1 Sam 13:5). However, Josephus adds a small detail to the Philistines' state of mind and slightly alters the details regarding the size of the Philistine troops. For example, the biblical text relates that the Philistines gathered for battle with the Israelites, yet Josephus relays that the Philistines were 'infuriated' and 'marched against' the Israelites. Additionally the biblical text offers a vague number of footmen – 'as many as sand beside the sea', while Josephus offers a precise and inflated number of footmen – six hundred thousand (Josephus, *Ant*. 6.97 [Begg, FJTC]) On the inflation of numbers in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, Cohen remarks 'Josephus is particularly fond of inventing figures to fill gaps in the narrative and, as often as not, the figures are impossible exaggerations.'[269] Moreover, Josephus' new emphasis on the intensity and the enormity of the Philistine army magnifies Saul's bravery when he subsequently engages in battle with the Philistines. On the emphasised portrayal of Saul's bravery in *Jewish Antiquities*, Attridge observes that Josephus seeks to highlight the king's courage as 'Saul is the principal exemplar of this virtue' within his apologetic work.[270] Subsequently, Josephus includes a small piece of new information concerning Saul's actions upon hearing of the Philistines' military arrangements. Feldman observes that Josephus adds a depiction of Saul 'inspiringly and fearlessly' sending heralds throughout the land summoning the Israelites to fight for their liberty. Additionally, Feldman also observes that Josephus presents Saul as a 'good psychologist' as he belittles the strength of the Philistines in order to bolster the courage of the Israelites (Josephus, *Ant*. 6.98). [271] In regard to Josephus' emphasis of Saul's military and leadership qualities Feldman states 'Josephus' addition to the Bible of military details concerning Saul fits into a consistent pattern of such supplementary retouching. Saul's ability as a general is increased by Josephus' remark[s], which [are] unparalleled in the Bible.'[272] Josephus emphasises Saul's military ability thus making him a figure appealing to a gentile audience.

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[268] Feldman, *Studies in Josephus' Rewritten Bible*, 558. For further examples and discussion of the omissions of material from Josephus' source material see Begg, *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy (AJ 8,212-420)*, 276-278. Thomas W. Franxman, *Genesis and the 'Jewish Antiquities' of Flavius Josephus* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1979), 286-87.

[269] Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*, 38. For a further discussion of Josephus' inflation of numbers in this passage see Avioz, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Books of Samuel*, 32.

[270] Attridge, *The Interpretation of Biblical History in the Antiquitates Judaicae of Flavius Josephus*, 113.

[271] Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*, 518.

[272] Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*, 515. For further examples and discussion of additions made by Josephus to his source material see Begg, *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy (AJ 8,212-420)*, 280-84.

Finally, Josephus again follows the biblical text by describing the Israelites' fear and the manner in which they fled from their enemy. Josephus follows the biblical text closely, yet he does not translate the Hebrew faithfully or copy the Greek verbatim, instead he intentionally paraphrases his source material. For example:

1 Samuel 13:6-7 (MT)	1 Samuel 13:6-7 (LXX)	Jewish Antiquities 6.99
אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל רָאוּ כִּי צַר־לוֹ כִּי נגש נִגַּשׁ הָעָם וַיֵּתְחַבְּאוּ הָעָם בַּמְּעָרוֹת וּבַחֲוָחִים וְעִבְרִים 7וּבַסְּלָעִים וּבַצְּרָחִים וּבַבֹּרוֹת: עִבְרוּ אֶת־הַיַּרְדֵּן אֶרֶץ גָּד וְגִלְעָד וְשָׁאוּל עוֹדֶנּוּ בַגִּלְגָּל וְכָל־הָעָם חָרְדוּ אַחֲרָיו:	καὶ ἀνὴρ Ισραηλ εἶδεν ὅτι στενῶς αὐτῷ μὴ προσάγειν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐκρύβη ὁ λαὸς ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς μάνδραις καὶ ἐν ταῖς πέτραις καὶ ἐν τοῖς βόθροις καὶ ἐν τοῖς λάκκοις, καὶ οἱ διαβαίνοντες διέβησαν τὸν Ιορδάνην εἰς γῆν Γαδ καὶ Γαλααδ. καὶ Σαουλ ἔτι ἦν ἐν Γαλγαλοις, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐξέστη ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ.	κατανοήσαντες δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Παλαιστίνων οἱ τοῦ Σαούλου κατεπλάγησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ τοὺς ὑπονόμους ἔκρυψαν αὑτοὺς, οἱ πλείους δὲ εἰς τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου γῆν ἔφυγον· αὕτη δ' ἦν Γάδου καὶ Ῥουβήλου. (Josephus, *Ant*. 6.99 [Begg, FJTC])
When the men of Israel saw they were in trouble, for the people were distressed, the people hid in caves, and thickets, and in rocks, and in holes, and in pits. And the Hebrews crossed over the Jordan to the land of Gad and Gilead. And Saul [was] still in Gilgal and all the people followed him trembling.	And a man of Israel saw that he was in distress and he could not move on towards [the enemy], and the people hid in caverns, and in enclosed spaces, and in rocks, and in holes, and in hollows, and those crossing over crossed the Jordan into the land of Gad and Gilead. And Saul was in Galgala, and all the people trembled behind him.	When, however, they observed the crowd of Palestinoi, Saoul's men were dismayed. Some hid themselves in caves and underground passages, while most fled to the land beyond the Jordan that belonged to Gad and Roubel. (Josephus, *Ant*. 6.99 [Begg, FJTC])

Josephus' portrayal of Mattathias

The exploits of the Hasmonean priest Mattathias are recorded in 1 Maccabees 2:1-69 and this material is borrowed by Josephus (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.265-286). This borrowing is asserted by I.H. Gafni:

> Josephus…relies primarily on 1 Maccabees. There can no longer remain any doubt on this issue, and any comparison of Antiquities XII, 241 ff. with I Macc. 1.11 ff. leads to the irrefutable conclusion that, all the deviations and discrepancies notwithstanding, before us is essentially a "stylized paraphrase" of 1 Maccabees.[273]

Both Josephus and the author of 1 Maccabees offer a positive portrayal of Mattathias and the Hasmonean family.[274] On the positive presentation of Mattathias in 1 Maccabees, E.S. Gruen observes 'the author of 1 Maccabees holds the Hasmoneans

[273] Isaiah H. Gafni, "Josephus and 1 Maccabees," in *Josephus, the Bible, and History*, ed. Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 116.

[274] For a discussion of Mattathias' character in 1 Maccabees see Benjamin E. Scolnic, *Judaism Defined: Mattathias and the Destiny of his People* (Lanham; Maryland: University Press of America, 2010).

in high esteem. The work as a whole serves almost as a paean to the family and an exhibit of their admirable qualities and accomplishments. Josephus, to a large degree, has similar sentiments'.[275] However, as Feldman suggests, Josephus further develops the positive portrayal of his characters. He notes 'in Josephus' narrative each of the Hasmoneans is built up as a personality beyond the account in 1 Maccabees. Thus we see the aggrandizement of Mattathias.'[276]

As has been noted, Josephus' source for his material concerning the Hasmoneans is the biblical text of 1 Maccabees.[277] However, there remains a debate as to whether Josephus employed a Hebrew or Greek version of the text. Nodet posits that Josephus utilises a Hebrew version of 1 Maccabees. In a similar approach to that which he took with Josephus' use of 1-2 Samuel, Nodet suggests that Josephus and the Greek version of 1 Maccabees drew from and translated a common Hebrew source. For example, in regard to the difference between Josephus and the Hebrew text of 1 Maccabees he states 'une quantité non négligeable de désaccords entre Josèphe et 1 Maccabées s'expliquent suffisamment par de simples divergences de traduction d'un même original hébreu'.[278] Conversely, B. Bar Kochva argues that Josephus employs a Greek version of 1 Maccabees. For example, in relation to the differences between Josephus and the Greek text of 1 Maccabees, he states:

> A careful study of the accounts of the battles shows that all the differences between Josephus and the Greek text of 1 Maccabees, which are quoted as proof of his having used the Hebrew original, can be explained by his tendency to simplify the description and interpret it on the basis of, or adapt it to, the concepts and point of view of the Greco-Roman reader.[279]

Thus, while this remains a relevant debate, the text of 1 Maccabees is extant only in its Greek form. Thus, the following example will compare Josephus' text to the

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[275] Erich S. Gruen, "The Hasmoneans in Josephus," in *A Companion to Josephus*, ed. Howell H. Chapman and Zuleika Rodgers (Malden, MA; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell 2016), 224.

[276] Louis H. Feldman, "Josephus' portrayal of the Hasmoneans compared to 1 Maccabees," in *Josephus and the History of the Graeco-Roman Period: Essays in memory of Morton Smith*, ed. Fausto Parente and Joseph Sievers (Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1994), 44. Additionally, on Josephus' character aggrandizement in *Jewish Antiquities*, Gafni compares the presentation of three Hasmoneans: John Hyrcanus, Alexander Jannaeus, and Mattathias Antigonus, in Josephus' *Jewish War* and *Jewish Antiquities*. By doing so he demonstrates that they are depicted 'much more sympathetically' in *Jewish Antiquities* than in *Jewish War*. Gideon Fuks, "Josephus and the Hasmoneans," *JJS* 41 (1990): 166-76.

[277] For a synopsis which helpfully lays out in parallel the Greek texts of 1 Maccabees and *Jewish Antiquities* see Joseph Sievers, *Synopsis of the Greek Sources of the Hasmonean Period: 1-2 Maccabees and Josephus, War 1 and Antiquities 12-14* (Rome: Editrice Pontifico Instituto Roma, 2001), 1-142.

[278] Étienne Nodet, "Josèphe et 1 Maccabées," *RB* 112 (2015): 515.

[279] Bezalel Bar Kochva, *Judas Maccabeus: The Jewish struggle against the Seleucids* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 193. Additionally, that Josephus uses a Greek text of 1 Maccabees appears to be the traditional view. See for example Heinrich Bloch, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus in seiner Archaologie* (Leipzig: Metzger & Wittig, 1879), 90.

Greek text in order to demonstrate some of the ways in which Josephus uses and freely adapts his biblical source.

Mattathias and his actions against Greek worship

Through his presentation of Mattathias, Josephus seeks to portray the priest as a figure who possessed qualities appealing to a gentile audience. Josephus' section in *Jewish Antiquities* concerning Mattathias acts as a good example of the author's apparent use and adaptation of material from 1 Maccabees in order to offer a positive and appealing portrait of Mattathias. It is to this example that we shall now turn.

Josephus follows the biblical text by introducing Mattathias and depicting his anguish regarding the Seleucids' assault upon the Jews (Josephus, *Ant*. 12.265-267 // LXX 1 Macc 2:1-13). Josephus follows the biblical text closely, yet he does not copy the Greek verbatim, rather he consciously paraphrases this material. Moreover, in the biblical text the author concludes Mattathias' lament by depicting the priest and his sons tearing their garments, clothing themselves in sackcloth, and mourning greatly (LXX 1 Macc 2:14). However, Josephus notably alters Mattathias' actions and words. He presents in direct speech the priest declaring that 'it was better for them to die for their country's laws than to live so ingloriously' (Josephus, *Ant*. 12.267 [Marcus, LCL]).[280] Josephus presents Mattathias upholding the ideal of liberty. In regard to Josephus' intention of presenting the biblical characters in a manner appealing to a gentile audience Feldman notes:

> Josephus portrays the Hasmoneans as devoted to the very ideals which were most important for the Romans, namely liberty, country, laws, and piety, and the readiness to die for these ideals… he stresses those ideals…which would have appealed so much to his Graeco-Roman audience.[281]

Furthermore, both Josephus and the author of 1 Maccabees advance their narratives by describing the Seleucids' command for the Jews to conduct inappropriate sacrifice. Again Josephus follows the biblical text closely, yet similarly he does not copy the Greek verbatim, rather he deliberately paraphrases his source material. This is illustrated in the following two examples:

[280] For further examples and discussion of alterations made by Josephus to his source material see Begg, *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy (AJ 8,212-420)*, 279-80. Franxman, *Genesis and the 'Jewish Antiquities' of Flavius Josephus*, 287-88.

[281] Feldman, "Josephus' portrayal of the Hasmoneans compared to 1 Maccabees," 45, 67.

LXX 1 Maccabees 2:15-18a	Jewish Antiquities 12.268-269
Καὶ ἦλθον οἱ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ καταναγκάζοντες τὴν ἀποστασίαν εἰς Μωδεϊν τὴν πόλιν, ἵνα θυσιάσωσιν· καὶ πολλοὶ ἀπὸ Ισραηλ πρὸς αὐτοὺς προσῆλθον· καὶ Ματταθιας καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ συνήχθησαν. καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ εἶπον τῷ Ματταθια λέγοντες ΄Αρχων καὶ ἔνδοξος καὶ μέγας εἶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ καὶ ἐστηρισμένος υἱοῖς καὶ ἀδελφοῖς.	Ἐλθόντων δὲ εἰς τὴν Μωδαΐν κώμην τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καθεσταμένων ἐπὶ τῷ ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἃ διετέτακτο, καὶ θύειν τοὺς ἐκεῖ κελευόντων, ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύσειε, διὰ δὲ τὴν δόξαν τήν τε διὰ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐπαιδίαν ἀξιούντων τὸν Ματταθίαν προκατάρχειν τῶν θυσιῶν κατακολουθήσειν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς πολίτας. (Josephus, *Ant*. 12.268-268 [Marcus, LCL])
And they came from the king enforcing apostasy in the city of Modein to sacrifice. And many from Israel came to them and Mattathias and his sons gathered. And those of the king answered and said to Mattathias, saying ‘you are a ruler honoured and great in this city and supported by sons and brothers’	But there came to the village of Modai officers appointed by the king to compel the Jews to carry out his ordinances, and they ordered the inhabitants to sacrifice as the king had ordered; and as Mattathias was held in esteem because of various things and especially because of his goodly sons, they invited him to be the first to sacrifice - for, they said his fellow-citizens would follow him. (Josephus, *Ant*. 12.268-268 [Marcus, LCL])

LXX 1 Maccabees 2:23-26	Jewish Antiquities 12.270-271
προσῆλθεν ἀνὴρ Ιουδαῖος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πάντων θυσιάσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐν Μωδεϊν κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως. καὶ εἶδεν Ματταθιας καὶ ἐζήλωσεν, καὶ ἐτρόμησαν οἱ νεφροὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνήνεγκεν θυμὸν κατὰ τὸ κρίμα καὶ δραμὼν ἔσφαξεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν· καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν ἀναγκάζοντα θύειν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τὸν βωμὸν καθεῖλεν.	Ἰουδαίων εἰς μέσον ἔθυσε καθ᾽ ἃ προσέταξεν Ἀντίοχος, θυμωθεὶς ὁ Ματταθίας ὥρμησεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν παίδων ἐχόντων κοπίδας, καὶ αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον διέφθειρε καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀπελλῆν, ὃς ἐπηνάγκαζε, διεχρήσατο μετ᾽ ὀλίγων στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τὸν βωμὸν καθελὼν ἀνέκραγεν… (Josephus, *Ant*. 12.270-271 [Marcus, LCL])
A Jewish man approached in the sight of all to sacrifice before the altar in Modein according to the ordnance of the king. And Mattathias saw and he became zealous and his kidney stirred up and his anger rose against the ordinance and running he slayed him on the altar. And he killed the man of the king compelling sacrifice in that time and he took down the altar.	One of the Jews came forward and in their midst sacrificed as Antiochus had commanded, whereupon Mattathias in rage rushed upon him with his sons, who had broad knives and cut down the man himself, and also made an end of Apelles the king’s officer, who was compelling them to sacrifice, together with a few of his soldiers; and after pulling down the pagan altar, he cried out… (Josephus, *Ant*. 12.270-271 [Marcus, LCL])

Subsequently, Josephus and the author of 1 Maccabees both further their narratives by relating Mattathias’ concluding words which round off his aforementioned defensive actions. The author of 1 Maccabees presents Mattathias saying ‘let all those zealous in the *law* and *observing the covenant* come out behind me’ (LXX 1 Macc 2:27). However, Josephus slightly alters these words and presents Mattathias saying ‘whoever is zealous for our *country’s laws* and the *worship of God*, let him come with me’ (Josephus, *Ant*. 12.271 [Marcus, LCL]). This is a very slight alteration, yet the effect of it upon the meaning of the material is significant. Gafni proposes that Josephus’ alteration of Mattathias’ direct speech parallels with ancient historiographical practices as he notes ‘from the days of Thucydides, historians felt free to compose speeches that should have been delivered and to insert them into the

proper hero's mouth. Josephus broke no new ground here.'[282] In this instance, Josephus employs ancient conventions to present his biblical figure as a figure respectable to his gentile audience.

Finally, Josephus continues to follow the text of 1 Maccabees by intentionally paraphrasing his source's description of the Seleucids' attack of the Jews on the Sabbath (*Ant*. 12.272-275 // LXX 1 Macc 2:29-38). Following the destruction of the Jews wrought by the Seleucids, Josephus, in material unparalleled in the biblical text, depicts the Jews autonomously appointing Mattathias as their leader (Josephus, *Ant*. 12:276). By making this small addition, Josephus emphasises the priest's leadership qualities and sets the scene for his subsequent notable alterations which further substantiate Mattathias' strong leadership.[283] For example, in the text of 1 Maccabees the author presents Mattathias along with his companions making the collective decision to allow the Jews to fight on the Sabbath (1 Macc 2:39-41). However, Josephus alters this as he presents Mattathias alone making the decision to allow the Jews to fight on the Sabbath (*Ant*. 12:276). Additionally, in 1 Maccabees the author depicts Mattathias and his friends tearing down altars and circumcising the uncircumcised, and he presents the Hasideans who joined Mattathias striking down sinners (LXX 1 Macc 2:42-46). Yet Josephus depicts Mattathias single-handedly pulling down altars, killing sinners, and forcibly circumcising the uncircumcised (Josephus, *Ant*. 277-278). Josephus transfers the actions of Mattathias and his friends and ascribes them to Mattathias alone and subsequently underscores Mattathias' strong leadership qualities.

Summary of Findings

The foregoing analysis has illustrated that Josephus, a literary contemporary of the fourth evangelist, moderately reworks his source material throughout his *Jewish Antiquities*. Josephus is no slavish copyist or uncreative recorder of source material. Instead he freely adapts his written source material. The preceding discussion has demonstrated that Josephus does not copy his source material verbatim, but rather extensively paraphrases his sources in these examples and shares no exact verbal agreements with his sources. Moreover, Josephus' moderate adaptation may be further categorised under four headings: (i) additions - the addition of unparalleled material to the source material, (ii) omissions - the omission of material in the source material, (iii) alterations - the alteration of aspects already in the source material, and (iv) transpositions - the transposition of material from its original position in the source material.

i. Additions: Josephus adds short phrases concerning his primary character Mattathias and his secondary characters the Philistines. Additionally, the

[282] Gafni, "Josephus and 1 Maccabees," 127.

[283] For an interesting discussion of Jewish ideals of leadership within a Graeco-Roman setting in which Josephus' portrayal of king David and Judah Maccabee are taken as examples see Junghwa Choi, *Jewish Leadership in Roman Palestine 70CE to 135CE* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013), 31-116.

historian adds a small section concerning his primary character Saul (a phrase or 1-5 lines in the printed text).

ii. Omissions: Josephus removes a short phrase that causes narrative difficulties and he removes small section of narrative concerning his primary character Saul (a phrase or 1-5 lines in the printed text).

iii. Alterations: Josephus significantly changes the words and actions of his primary character Mattathias. The historian also slightly alters the actions of his secondary characters the Philistines. Additionally, Josephus alters a word within a phrase spoken by Mattathias which significantly changes its meaning. Finally, the historian transfers the actions of a set of characters to another character.

iv. Transpositions: Josephus for the most part follows his sources in their arrangement of material; however, he notably moves material concerning the Philistines and the iron works from its original position at the end of a source passage and resituates it near the beginning of his own passage.

In these two examples it has been shown that within a single passage, Josephus extensively employs a variety of methods to freely adapt his source material and create his own new piece of writing. Additionally, these are not isolated examples, but rather reflect the author's frequent free adaptation of his source material throughout his gospel.

iv. The Author of the Gospel of Peter's Use and Adaptation of Source Material

The Gospel of Peter is a second century CE Greek fragment of a passion narrative which strongly resembles the passion narratives found in the four canonical gospels.[284] The fragment commences and concludes mid-sentence and the extant text covers the events from the latter part of Jesus' Roman trial through to the initial depiction of Peter and his brother Andrew's departure following Jesus' resurrection.[285] In this part, selected passages from the Gospel of Peter will be assessed in order to demonstrate how the author of the Gospel of Peter uses and adapts his written source material.

The purpose of the Gospel of Peter is not obviously apparent or easy to determine. This difficulty is observed by J. Verheyden:

[284] For a recent discussion of the Gospel of Peter see Paul Foster, *The Gospel of Peter: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Commentary* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010), 1-172.

[285] P. Bilde refers to *Jewish Antiquities* as a 'truly voluminous work'. Per Bilde, *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome: His Life, his Works, and their Importance* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 80.

> [The purpose of the Gospel] is a most difficult question to answer for a writing that is only partially preserved and that, in the part that is preserved, does not formally describe the purpose, as indeed is unfortunately so often the case in ancient literature, Christian and other.[286]

However, P. Foster has sought to determine the motivations behind the composition of the Gospel of Peter by comparing the fragment to the material in the four canonical passion narratives and in turn suggesting seven features which may account for the author's composition of this new passion narrative: [287]

1. To shift blame for the crucifixion from Roman authorities to Jewish figures.
2. To produce a Christology that aligns with the author's elevated understanding of Jesus.
3. To heighten miraculous elements as a means of commending belief.
4. To resolve theologically problematic features in the canonical form of the Passion Narratives.
5. To create a form of the tradition that is more robust for apologetic purposes.
6. To fill gaps in the narrative to satisfy the curiosity of the pious.
7. To produce a stylistically more developed text with greater points of narrative tension.

The Gospel of Peter and its author are a good literary analogy to John and his gospel as firstly like John, the author of the Gospel of Peter wrote in Greek around the second century CE. Secondly, like John's gospel, the Gospel of Peter is written in narrative form and takes the genre of a gospel. Thirdly, like John's proposed Markan source material, the author of the gospel of Peter draws on Markan material along with material from Matthew, Luke and John. Hence, it appears that the Gospel of Peter and its author as a literary analogy to John and his gospel are wholly appropriate.

Source Use and Adaptation in the Gospel of Peter

Scholarship has long debated the Gospel of Peter's dependence upon or independence from the canonical gospels in much the same manner as the question of John's dependence or independence from the synoptic gospels has been debated. At the end of the nineteenth century one of the first to examine and write on the newly discovered Gospel of Peter was the Cambridge scholar J.R. Harris. On examining the text in light of the canonical gospels, Harris asserts that the author of the Gospel of Peter draws upon and freely reworks the canonical gospel material. He observes that the author 'had a good acquaintance with St. John's gospel' and also shares material with the synoptic gospels. Moreover, Harris proposes that the gospel material is 'freely handled' and the author 'makes all sorts of fantastic combinations.'[288] Additionally, Harris also importantly takes into consideration the

[286] Joseph Verheyden, "Some reflections on Determining the Purpose of the *Gospel of Peter*," in *Das Evangelium Nach Petrus: Text, Kontext, Intertexte*, ed. Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 283.

[287] Paul Foster, "Passion Traditions in the Gospel of Peter," in *Gelitten – Gestorben – Auferstanden: Passions- und Ostertraditionen im antiken Christentum*, ed. Tobias Nicklas, Andreas Merkt, and Joseph Verheyden., WUNT II/273 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 66-7.

[288] James R. Harris, *A Popular Account of the Newly-Rediscovered Gospel of St. Peter* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1893), 68.

wider literary culture within which the author creatively employed canonical source material and accounts for the author's compositional practices as he notes:

> There is much more organic connection between early books than we have any idea of from the study of modern books. The materials which were at hand were always worked over by an author, who never expected that in the nineteenth century that we would call such a proceeding plagiarism…to rewrite a good author was a virtue.[289]

In a similar vein, H.B. Swete, a contemporary of Harris, argues that the author of the Gospel of Peter is largely dependent on the Synoptic gospels and to a degree dependent on the fourth gospel. He observes that the author adds to and alters the material which he draws from the canonical gospels. Additionally, he points out the omission of notable incidents found in the canonical gospels.[290] Omissions, however, are difficult to determine with certainty as the text of the Gospel of Peter is not preserved in its entirety and what may seem like an omission may be a transposition which was present in a portion of the text that is now lost.

Conversely, in contrast to these proposals, Gardner-Smith argues that the author of the Gospel of Peter composes his gospel independently of the canonical gospel material, as he proposes that all the evangelists individually drew on 'floating traditions'.[291] Additionally, Gardner-Smith views the literary practice of source adaptation negatively and denies that the Petrine author had the skill to adapt source material:

> The many divergences of 'Peter' from the canonical gospels are best explained, not by supposing that the author had an inexplicable passion for tampering with his sources, but by supposing that he did not know the work of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. That his account is immeasurably inferior to that of the gospels can hardly be denied; ' Peter' was a man of no great ability.[292]

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[289] Harris, *A Popular Account of the Newly-Rediscovered Gospel of St. Peter*, 21-22.

[290] Henry B. Swete, *The Akhmîm Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter* (London: Macmillian, 1893), xiii-xviii. A Cambridge contemporary of both Harris and Swete was J.A. Robinson who similarly argues for the author of the Gospel of Peter's dependence upon the canonical gospels. Joseph A. Robinson and Montague R. James, *The Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation of Peter: Two Lecture on the Newly Discovered Fragments together with the Greek Texts* (London: Clay, 1892), 11-36. Additionally, in Germany, A. von Harnack and T. Zahn also argues for the author's dependence upon the canonical gospels. Adolf von Harnack, *Bruchstücke des Evangeliums und der Apokalypse des Petrus* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichssche Buchhandlung, 1893), 23-79. Theodor Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Petrus: Das kürzlich gefundene Fragment seines Texts* (Erlangen, Leipzig: Deichert, 1893).

[291] Percival Gardner-Smith, "Gospel of Peter," *JTS* 27 (1926): 270. A later scholar who argues for the author of the Gospel of Peter's independence from the canonical gospels is J.D. Crossan. In a radical proposal, Crossan suggests that the Gospel of Peter contains an earlier narrative – *The Cross Gospel*, which predates the canonical gospel's passion narratives, but that the Gospel of Peter in its final form depends on the canonical gospels. John D. Crossan, *The Cross that Spoke: The Origins of the Passion Narrative* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988). This proposal has not had many adherents and has been frequently critiqued. For a critique of Crossan's proposal see for example Raymond E. Brown, "The Gospel of Peter and Canonical Gospel Priority," *NTS* 33 (1978): 321-43.

[292] Gardner-Smith, "Gospel of Peter," 270.

The relationship between the Gospel of Peter and the canonical gospels is further discussed by R.E. Brown. He returns to the traditional view that the author uses canonical gospel material; however, he does not hold the position that the author was literarily dependent on the canonical gospels but rather he proposes that the author possesses knowledge of the canonical gospel material in an oral form having repeatedly heard the gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John recited during community worship.[293] Additionally, Brown importantly appreciates the author's compositional practice in light of the practices of his literary contemporaries. Thus he suggests that alongside the Matthean, Lukan and Johannine oral material, the author of the Gospel of Peter,

> intermingled…popular tales about incidents in the passion, the very type of popular material that Matt had tapped in composing his Gospel at an earlier period…The *Protoevangelium of James* gives an imaginative recasting of the infancy stories from echoes of Matt and Luke combined with imaginative popular developments. Therefore, the work I am proposing would not have been an oddity in the early days of Christianity.[294]

Furthermore, Brown argues for the author's dependence on oral canonical gospel material rather than on written canonical gospel material on the basis that the Gospel of Peter shares very little verbal agreement with the four canonical gospels. However, in this instance, Brown has a somewhat limited perspective of ancient source use as he seems to assume that only the verbal similarities such as those between the Synoptic gospels can demonstrate literary dependence.[295] In the same vein, M.K. Stillman adopts Brown's proposal and develops it further in order to utilise the theory of 'secondary orality' as the explanation for the process by which material parallel to traditions in the canonical gospels came to be present in the Gospel of Peter. In order to achieve this she offers three examples which she believes to demonstrate the author's use of orally received material: (i) words in the canonical gospels and in the Gospel of Peter which are synonymous but derive from different roots, (ii) the canonical gospels use compound verbs where the Gospel of Peter uses simple verbs, (iii) words which are in parallel in the canonical gospels and the Gospel of Peter but that do not sound similar.[296] While these examples do not of themselves exclude the possibility that the author of the Gospel of Peter received his material orally, these examples are also totally consistent with and may in fact provide stronger evidence for the view that the author possessed his material in textual form and adapted the language of his sources through employing the common literary practice of paraphrase.

Finally, T. Henderson argues for the author of the Gospel of Peter's free handling of the canonical gospel material as he states:

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[293] Raymond E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave, A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels*, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 1334-5.
[294] Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, 1335.
[295] Brown, "The Gospel of Peter and Canonical Gospel Priority," 333.
[296] Martha K. Stillman, "The Gospel of Peter: A Case for Oral-Only Dependency," *ETL* 73 (1997): 116-19.

> In one sense our evangelist is dependent on the NT gospels, which provide the framework for his own narrative. But in another very real sense his own gospel is a new creation that significantly alters many of the details in the antecedent gospels He felt under no compulsion to tell the stories in the same way that the previous evangelists had told them.[297]

Additionally, he importantly emphasises the difference between Matthew and Luke's dependence upon Mark and the author's dependence upon the canonical gospels. He suggests that in order to appreciate the author's use of sources 'we must therefore leave behind the relationship among the Synoptic Gospels as the most fitting analogue for understanding GP's relationship to the NT gospels.'[298] Therefore, Henderson proceeds and firstly examines the author's reworking of the canonical gospel material, and secondly explores this rewriting in light of the author's apologetic and polemical aims in particular the anti-Jewish sentiment contained in the text.

Thus, the following analysis will explore the author of the Gospel of Peter's use and adaptation of source material in light of his literary motivations. This will be achieved by taking four examples from different parts of the fragment and comparing this material to comparable material in the canonical passion narratives thereby demonstrating the different ways in which the author adapts his source material.

Source Use and Adaptation in Selected Passages in the Gospel of Peter

From what remains extant of the Gospel of Peter, it is apparent that the author writes his own new passion story in which he fulfils his own authorial objectives. The author seems to draw on aspects from each of the four canonical passion narratives in order to create his own narrative. Therefore, the following analysis will illustrate some of the ways in which the author uses and adapts his canonical source material.

Pilate's protest, Herod's authority, and Joseph's request

The fragmented passion narrative commences mid-sentence with the characters of Herod the Jewish king along with his judges and also Pilate the Roman prefect. In this initial section, the author appears to broadly follow material present in Matthew and Luke. In the Matthean gospel, the evangelist depicts Pilate washing his hands. The symbolic significance is that such an action absolves the prefect from guilt, and furthermore it emphasises his innocence (Matt 27:24). The fragment begins with a

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[297] Timothy P. Henderson, *The Gospel of Peter and Early Christian Apologetics*., WUNT II/301 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 32-3.

[298] Henderson, *The Gospel of Peter and Early Christian Apologetics*, 33. Additionally, in a similar vein, T.N. Schonhoffer asserts that 'the pattern of source utilisation employed by Matthew and Luke was not the norm in antiquity' and 'the relationship of *Peter* to Matthew and Luke does not appear to function according to this synoptic pattern of source utilisation. Instead it functions in terms of storage and then creative retrieval of different stands of tradition from the author's trained memory, according to the more typical pattern of source usage in antiquity, a skill that Matthew and Luke did not have.' T Nicholas Schonhoffer, "The Relationship of the Gospel of Peter to the Canonical Gospels: A Composition Critical Argument," *ETL* 87 (2011): 247.

scene completely unparalleled in the canonical gospels; however it does have some resonance with the aforementioned Matthean incident. The author of the Gospel of Peter adds the small contrastive phrase 'but of the Jews (Herod and his judges) no-one washed the hands' (Gos. Pet. 1:1) in order to place the blame for Jesus' death upon the Jews. On this point Foster notes 'it does appear highly plausible that a report of Pilate's hand-washing was present, and that the author of the *Gospel of Peter* created the scene in *Gos. Pet.* 1.1-2 to juxtapose the innocence of Pilate with the guilt of those who refuse to wash their hands.'[299] Additionally, in a similar vein, Henderson observes 'what in Matthew was a means of portraying Pilate's innocence has become much more in GP 1:1-2, because not only is the Petrine Pilate absolved of guilt but also, more importantly, the wickedness and guilt of the Jews are heightened by their lack of desire to absolve themselves.'[300]

Moreover, in the Lukan gospel, Herod and Pilate are depicted as working concurrently (Luke 23:6-16). The evangelist presents neither Pilate nor Herod finding Jesus guilty (Luke 23:13-15) and in turn, as in each of the other three canonical gospels, portrays Pilate alone handing Jesus over to the Roman solders (Luke 23:25; cf. Mark 15:15; Matt 27:26; John 19:16). However, the author of the Gospel of Peter alters this material to place the blame for Jesus' death squarely upon the Jews. This is observed by Foster who writes, the author of the Gospel of Peter 'radically rewrites this tradition to advance [his] own theological agenda – "blame shifting"'.[301] The author of the Gospel of Peter presents Pilate withdrawing (Gos. Pet. 1:1) and subsequently portrays Herod taking sole charge and saying to the Jewish people 'whatever I command you to do to him, do' (Gos. Pet. 1:2), before he finally hands Jesus over to the Jewish people (Gos. Pet. 2:5).[302] Hence, as Verheyden notes, the Jewish people are now 'explicitly made Herod's partners in crime.'[303]

Furthermore, within this opening section, the author of the Gospel of Peter seems to follow all four canonical gospels in their depiction of Joseph of Arimathea requesting Jesus' body. Yet, the author of the Gospel of Peter notably transposes the canonical gospel material which is positioned after Jesus' crucifixion and resituates it in this earlier narrative position. Additionally, the content of this material is notably altered by the author. In each of the canonical gospels, Joseph is presented as asking Pilate for the body of Jesus following his crucifixion (Mark 15:43; Matt 27:58; Luke 23:52; John 19:38). In contrast, the author of the Gospel of Peter portrays Joseph as asking Pilate for Jesus' executed body before his crucifixion. Then according to the

[299] Foster, "Passion Traditions in the *Gospel of Peter*," 52-3.

[300] Henderson, *The Gospel of Peter and Early Christian Apologetics*, 57.

[301] Foster, "Passion Traditions in the *Gospel of Peter*," 54.

[302] For a brief discussion of Pilate's subordinate character in the Gospel of Peter see Heike Omerzu, "Die Pilatusgestalt im Petrusevangelium: Eine erzählanalytische Annäherung," in *Das Evangelium Nach Pertus: Text, Kontext, Intertexte*, ed. Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 333-47.

[303] Verheyden, "Some Reflections on Determining The "Purpose of the Gospel of Peter"," 295. Verheyden also offers a clear discussion concerning the Jewish identity of 'the people' in Gos. Pet. 2:5.

Gospel of Peter, Pilate in turn seeks permission from Herod for Jesus' body (Gos. Pet. 2:3-5). This transposition and alteration yet again highlights Herod's authority and his responsibility for the execution of Jesus. On this point, Henderson observes 'Herod is thus the primary authority through whom all official decisions are made pertaining to the execution.'[304]

The Jews Mock and Scourge Jesus

The author of the Gospel of Peter follows the canonical evangelists by depicting Jesus' movement towards the cross. In the Synoptic gospels, Simon carries Jesus' cross (Mark 15:21; Matt 27:32; Luke 23:26), whereas in the gospel of John Jesus carries his own cross (John 19:17). The author of the Gospel of Peter alters this scene considerably as he depicts the mob of Jewish people in unison 'running along' and 'pushing' Jesus while also cohortatively saying 'Let us drag the son of God having authority over him' (Gos. Pet. 3:6). Here there is no possibility in the narrative for Jesus to carry his own cross, or for the planning required to press Simon into the service of cross bearing. The author presents Jesus' execution as being carried out by an unruly and spontaneous mob. This is in order to show that the normal procedures of Roman justice had been ignored, and that Jesus was executed in an illegal way due to malice and mob violence.

Consequently, the author follows the gospels of Mark and Matthew and in part follows the Gospel of John by outlining the Jewish soldiers' ridicule of Jesus and their acts of violence against him. However, he does not copy these canonical accounts verbatim, but rather intentionally paraphrases and retells the scene in his own way with his individual apologetic in mind. For example:

[304] Henderson, *The Gospel of Peter and Early Christian apologetics*, 58.

Mark 15:17-20	Matthew 27:28-30	John 19:2, 13	Gospel of Peter 3:6-9
καὶ ἐνδιδύσκουσιν αὐτὸν πορφύραν	καὶ ἐκδύσαντες αὐτὸν χλαμύδα κοκκίνην περιέθηκαν αὐτῷ	καὶ ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν περιέβαλον αὐτόν (John 19:2b) Πιλᾶτος… ἤγαγεν ἔξω τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ βήματος εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Λιθόστρωτον, Ἑβραϊστὶ δὲ Γαββαθα (John 19:13)	καὶ πορφύραν αὐτὸν περιέβαλλον καὶ ἐκάθισαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ καθέδραν κρίσεως, λέγοντες. Δικαίως κρῖνε, βασιλεῦ τοῦ Ἰσπαήλ
καὶ περιτιθέασιν αὐτῷ πλέξαντες ἀκάνθινον στέφανον	καὶ πλέξαντες στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν ἐπέθηκαν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ κάλαμον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ	καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται πλέξαντες στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ (John 19:2a)	καί τις αὐτῶν ἐνεγκὼν στέφαυου ἀκάνθινον ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ κυρίου
καὶ ἤρξαντο ἀσπάζεσθαι αὐτόν· χαῖρε, βασιλεῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων· καὶ ἔτυπτον αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν καλάμῳ καὶ ἐνέπτυον αὐτῷ καὶ τιθέντες τὰ γόνατα προσεκύνουν αὐτῷ.	καὶ γονυπετήσαντες ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἐνέπαιξαν αὐτῷ λέγοντες· χαῖρε, βασιλεῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ ἐμπτύσαντες εἰς αὐτὸν ἔλαβον τὸν κάλαμον καὶ ἔτυπτον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.		καὶ ἕτεροι ἑστῶτες ἐνέπτυον αὐτοῦ ταῖς ὄψεσι, καὶ ἄλλοι τὰς σιαγόνας αὐτοῦ ἐράπισαν, ἕτεροι καλάμῳ ἔνυσσον αὐτὸν, καὶ τινες αὐτὸν ἐμάστιζ ον λέγοντες· ταύτῃ τῇ τιμήσωμεν τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.
And they clothed him in purple	And having stripped him they put around him a scarlet cloak	[They] cast a purple garment around him (John 19:2b) Pilate…brought Jesus out and sat down on the judgement seat (John 19:13)	They were clothing him in purple And they sat him on the seat of judgement saying ‘Judge justly king of Israel’
And having twisted together a crown of thorns placed in on him	And having twisted together a crown of thorns they put in on his head and a reed in his right hand	And the soldiers having twisted together a crown of thorns put it on his head. (John 19:2a)	And one of them brought a thorn crown and placed it on the head of the Lord
And they began to salute him ‘Hail the King of the Jews’ and they were striking his head with a reed and spitting on him and bending the knees they were bowing before him.	And having bent the knees before him they mocked him saying ‘Hail the King of the Jews’. And having spat on him they took a reed and were striking him on the head.		And others who stood by were spitting in his face, and other struck his cheeks, others were piercing him with a reed, and some were scourging him saying ‘with this honour let us honour the son of God.’

The author follows the material in three of the canonical gospels, yet he paraphrases the material and recasts the characters behind the actions in line with his own authorial aims. In regard to the author's employment of paraphrase, Swete observes:

> The writer, it is clear, is not a mere complier or harmonist; usually he appears to avoid the precise words, and when he comes nearest to them, it is his habit to change the order of events, of to break the sequence by the introduction of phraseology foreign to the writers of the New Testament.[305]

Moreover, in relation to the recasting of material, the gospels of Mark, Matthew, and John present the Roman soldiers mocking Jesus' kingly status and scourging him, while in the Gospel of Peter the author notably alters this set of characters and rather presents them as the Jewish people. He transfers the actions of the Roman soldiers to the Jewish people. Additionally, in the gospel of John there is an ambiguity as to whether it was Pilate or Jesus who sat on the judgement seat, whilst in the Gospel of Peter it is Jesus who is placed on the judgement seat by the Jewish people so that they might mock his regal status. Thus, the author of the Gospel of Peter again stresses the Jewish people's involvement in Jesus' death.[306]

Jesus on the Cross

The author of the Gospel of Peter follows the Synoptic gospels in depicting Jesus as being crucified between two wrongdoers and more specifically he follows Luke in ascribing the wrongdoers a voice (Gos. Pet. 4:10 // Mark 15:27; Matt 27:38; Luke 23:32, 39-41). Consequently, in a description unparalleled in the Synoptic gospel material, the author adds a small description of Jesus on the cross as being 'silent as having no pain.' (Gos. Pet. 4:10). However, J.W. McCant proposes that the author of the Gospel of Peter draws on the notion of Jesus' silence at his trial as presented in Mark and Matthew (Mark 14:61; Matt 26:63) and alters this so as to present Jesus as being silent on the cross. Additionally, in regard to the author's authorial aims, McCant observes:

> In GP the silence is not a direct refusal to answer Caiaphas, Herod or Pilate but a description of the Lord's behaviour in reaction to the suffering of the cross. The change of setting makes the 'Petrine' interpretive redaction understandable. GP 3. 6-9 reports a scene of derision with the Son of God subjected to the power of the Jews and their extreme physical abuse and human indignities. He is placed on a cross between two κακοὐργους, but he was silent as if he felt no pain (GP 4. 10b). Such alterations are not accidental but indicative of a highly significant theological motif.[307]

Through this addition or alteration the author emphasises his elevated understanding of Jesus and contributes to his overall higher christological perspective. Additionally, as previously mentioned, the author of the Gospel of Peter follows the Lukan gospel

[305] Swete, *The Akhmîm Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter*, xviii.

[306] For an overview of the characterisation of 'the Jews' in the Gospel of Peter see Tobias Nicklas, "'Die 'Juden' im Petrusevangelium (PCair 10759): Ein Testfall," *NTS* 47 (2011): 206-11.

[307] Jerry W. McCant, "The Gospel of Peter: Docetism Reconsidered," *NTS* 30 (1984): 260.

by giving a voice to one of the criminals on the cross alongside Jesus. In Luke's Gospel one criminal reviles Jesus and the other criminal rebukes the first criminal (Luke 23:39-41); however, the author of the Gospel of Peter significantly alters this as he presents one of the criminals rebuking the Jewish people saying 'we, because of the evil we did, are suffering thus, but this man who is the saviour of men, how has he wronged you?' (Gos. Pet. 4:13). In this alteration the christological affirmation of the criminal 'Saviour of men' further contributes to the author's higher christological perspective.[308] Additionally, in relation to the author's anti-Jewish sentiment, A. Kirk writes:

> The author of the Gospel of Peter, driven by an anti-Jewish Tendenz, could gain nothing by shifting the spotlight off his arch-villains onto another thief. Thus the other thief could be eliminated from the account received from Luke. For if the intention was to focus on the evil actions of the Jews, as it clearly is throughout the fragment, the introduction of an abusive malefactor would have weakened the narrative by deflecting it from its goal. Thus a narrative featuring one thief with a rebuke directed at villainous Jews was most suitable to the author.[309]

Moreover, the author of the Gospel of Peter uses the criminal's rebuke of the Jewish people to further emphasise his anti-Jewish feeling. He follows the Johannine notion of leg breaking, yet he notably alters it in line with his own apologetic aims. In the gospel of John the Roman soldiers broke the legs of the two wrongdoers and sought to break Jesus' legs in order to hasten their deaths and in turn remove their bodies from the crosses before the Sabbath (John 19:32-33), while in the Gospel of Peter the Jewish people were angered and broke the legs of the wrongdoer who rebuked them in order to inflict further pain upon him (Gos. Pet. 4:14).[310] Therefore, the author of the Gospel of Peter highlights the Jewish people's cruelty. It also appears to be the case that the author of the Gospel of Peter has actually misunderstood the practice of leg-breaking. Rather than viewing it as an act of mercy that shortened the period of suffering of the one being crucified, he mistakenly sees it as a way of heightening pain. From this misconception the author attributes greater malevolence to the non-Roman executioners, as part of the thoroughgoing attempt to shift blame on to the Jews for the death of Jesus.

Furthermore, within this section of narrative, the author follows the canonical accounts by mentioning the darkness at Jesus' crucifixion, the drink that Jesus was offered, the title on the cross, Jesus' death cry, and the tearing of the temple curtain (Gos. Pet. 5:15-20 // Mark 15:33-38; Matt 27:45-51; Luke 23:38, 44-46; John 19:19).

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[308] Foster, "Passion Traditions in the *Gospel of Peter*," 57-8.

[309] Alan Kirk, "Examining Priorities: Another Look at the Gospel of Peter's Relationship to the New Testament Gospels," *NTS* 40 (1994): 578.

[310] Interestingly, Henderson understands the one whose legs were not broken to be Jesus. Thus, he sees the author altering the Johannine tradition and creating a stark contrast between the Roman soldiers in John's gospel who seek to break Jesus' legs to hasten his death and the Jewish people in the Gospel of Peter who intend not to break Jesus' legs so as to prolong his death. Henderson, *The Gospel of Peter and Early Christian Apologetics*, 62.

Within this free retelling of the canonical accounts, the Petrine author makes two slight alterations. Firstly, he slightly changes the title on the cross:

Mark 15:26	Matthew 27:37	Luke 23:38	John 19:19	Gospel of Peter 4:11
ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν **Ἰουδαίων**	οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν **Ἰουδαίων**	ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν **Ἰουδαίων** οὗτος	Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν **Ἰουδαίων**	οὗτός ἐστιυ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ **Ἰσπαήλ**
The King of the **Jews**	This is Jesus the King of the **Jews**	This the King of the **Jews**	Jesus of Nazareth the King of the **Jews**	This is the King of **Israel**

The author of the Gospel of Peter replaces the canonical title 'King of the Jews' with his own title 'King of Israel'. Foster notes, 'this is obviously part of the author's wider anti-Jewish perspective' and he 'distances Jesus from any Jewish association…as this suits the theological perspective of the text.'[311]

Secondly, the author of the Gospel of Peter slightly modifies Jesus' cry from the cross:

Mark 15:34	Matthew 27:46	Gospel of Peter 5:19
ὁ **θεός** μου ὁ θεός μου, εἰς τί **ἐγκατέλιπές** με;	**θεέ** μου θεέ μου, ἱνατί με **ἐγκατέλιπες**;	ἡ **δυναμίς** μου ἡ δυναμίς, **κατέλειψά**ς με
My **God** my God, why have you **forsaken** me?	My **God** my God, why have you **forsaken** me?	My **power** the power, you have **left** me.

The author of the Gospel of Peter substitutes Jesus' address to his 'God' with an address to his 'Power' and he changes Jesus' words from a questioning cry of dereliction to a statement of self-observed fact. These very slight one word alterations, yet the effect of them upon the meaning of the material is significant. On this alteration and in relation to the Petrine author's aim to resolve theological difficulties, Foster observes:

> The recast version of this tradition seeks to obviate the theological difficulties of the Markan text, which in bleak terms presents a Jesus who declares his God-forsakenness at the point of his death. In place of this theological conundrum, the *Gospel of Peter* provides an emotive cry. However, this is a statement of recognition life-force leaving the crucified Jesus, rather than a desperate question concerning the presence of God. The purpose in re-writing this tradition is to replace a theologically problematic dominical cry with a domesticated description of self-awareness.[312]

[311] Foster, "Passion Traditions in the *Gospel of Peter*," 60.

[312] Foster, "Passion Traditions in the *Gospel of Peter*," 60. A different interpretation is offered by P. M. Head, who suggests that 'here δυναμίς functions as a circumlocution for God. Examples of this usage can be found in Matt 26.64 // Mark 14.62, as well as in the OT Pseudepigrapha, later Jewish literature, and in the church Fathers. Even in the gnostic literature "Power" terminology most often functions as a circumlocution for God rather than a divine power indwelling Jesus.' Thus, his proposal seems to imply that the author of the Gospel of Peter does not intend to alter the canonical material in

The Women at the Tomb

The author of the Gospel of Peter follows the gospels of Mark, Matthew, and John by situating Mary Magdalene at Jesus' tomb (Gos. Pet. 12:50 // Mark 16:1; Matt 28:1; John 20:1) and the author harmonises these gospel accounts by referring to Mary Magdalene and her 'friends' (Gos. Pet. 12:51). Subsequently, the author of the Gospel of Peter adds a small description that Mary Magdalene and the other women were 'afraid of the Jews' (Gos. Pet. 12:50, 52, 54). Henderson suggests that the Petrine author draws on the notion of Joseph of Arimathea and the disciples' 'fear of the Jews' (φόβος τῶν Ἰουδαίων) as presented in John's Gospel (John 19:38; 20.19) and utilises the idea here to yet further emphasise his anti-Jewish sentiment.[313] Moreover, in the remainder of this section, the author appears to draw heavily on the account of the women at the tomb in Mark's Gospel.[314] Within this section there are some verbal agreements between Mark and the Gospel of Peter along with further examples of paraphrase. For example:

the manner proposed by Foster. Peter M. Head, "On the Christology of the Gospel of Peter," *Vig. Chr.* 46 (1992): 214.

[313] Henderson, *The Gospel of Peter and Early Christian Apologetics*, 205-6.

[314] Frans Neirynck, "The Apocryphal Gospels and the Gospel of Mark," in *The New Testament in Early* Christianity, ed. Jean-Marie. Sevrin (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 144.

Mark 16:3-8	Gospel of Peter 12:54-57
καὶ ἔλεγον πρὸς ἑαυτάς. **τίς ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν τὸν λίθον** ἐκ **τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου**; καὶ ἀναβλέψασαι θεωροῦσιν ὅτι ἀποκεκύλισται **ὁ λίθος**. **ἦν γὰρ μέγας** σφόδρα. Καὶ εἰσελθοῦσαι εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον εἶδον **νεανίσκον** καθήμενον ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς περιβεβλημένον **στολὴν** λευκήν, καὶ ἐξεθαμβήθησαν. ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐταῖς. μὴ ἐκθαμβεῖσθε. Ἰησοῦν ζητεῖτε τὸν Ναζαρηνὸν τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον· ἠγέρθη, οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε· ἴδε ὁ τόπος ὅπου ἔθηκαν αὐτόν. ἀλλ᾽ ὑπάγετε εἴπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ ὅτι προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν· ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε, καθὼς εἶπεν ὑμῖν. Καὶ ἐξελθοῦσαι **ἔφυγον** ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου, εἶχεν γὰρ αὐτὰς τρόμος καὶ ἔκστασις· καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπαν. ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ.	**.... καὶ ἔλεγον**…**τίς** δὲ **ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν λίθον** τὸν τεθέντα ἐπὶ **τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου**, ἵνα εἰσελθοῦσα**ι** παρακαθεσθῶμεν αὐτῷ καὶ ποιήσωμεν τὰ ὀφιλόμενα**; μέγας γὰρ ἦν ὁ λίθος**… καὶ ἀπελθοῦσαι εὗρον τὸν τάφον ἠνεῳγμένον καὶ προσελθοῦσαι παρέκυαν ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁρῶσιν ἐκεῖ τινα **νεανίσκον** καθεζόμενον μέσῳ τοῦ ταφου ὡοαῖον καὶ περιβεβλημνον **στολὴν** λαμπεοτάτην ὅστις ἔφη αὐταῖ(ς). τί ἤλθατε; τίνα ζηεῖτε; μὴ τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐκεῖνον; ἀνέστη καὶ ἀπῆλθεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ πιστεύετε, παρακύψατε καὶ ἴδατε τὸν τόπον ἔνθα ἔκειτο ὅτι οὐχ ἔστιν. ἀνέστη γὰρ καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖ ὅθεν ἀπεστάλη. τότε αἱ γυναῖκες φοβηθεῖσαι **ἔφυγον**.
And they were saying among themselves '**who will roll away for us the stone** from the door of the tomb?' And having looked up they see that **the stone** has been rolled away, for it **was great**. And having entered into the tomb they saw a **young man** sitting on the right clothed in a white **robe** and they were greatly astonished. And he says to them Do not be astonished, you seek Jesus the Nazarene the one having been crucified, he has risen, he is not here, behold the place where they laid him. But go, say to his disciples and Peter that he goes before you into Galilee and you will see him as he said to you. And having gone out the **fled** from the tomb for trembling and astonishment had seized them, and they said nothing to anyone. For they were afraid.	…**And they were saying**… 'But **who will roll away for us** also **the stone** that has been placed at the door of the tomb that when we have gone in we might sit beside him and do the things that are necessary?' For **the stone was great**… And after they set out, they found the tomb had been opened and as they approached they stooped down and there they saw a certain **young man**, beautiful and clothed in a shining **robe** who said to them… 'Why did you come? Whom do you seek? Not that one who was crucified? He has risen and gone. But if you do not believe, stoop down and see the place from…because he is not….For he has risen and gone to the place from where he was sent. Then the women fearing, **fled**.

While the author of the Gospel of Peter endeavours to paraphrase his canonical source material as is seen with the material relating to the description of the young man in the tomb and the interaction of the women with the male figure in the tomb, he also at points breaks into the direct copying of his canonical source material as is seen particularly with the women's question about the stone where verbal agreements exist between Mark and the Gospel of Peter.

Summary of Findings

The foregoing analysis has demonstrated that author of the Gospel of Peter, a literary contemporary of the fourth evangelist, moderately to thoroughly reworks his source material in the *Gospel of Peter*. The author is no wooden copyist or uncreative complier of source material. Instead he freely adapts his source material. The preceding discussion has illustrated that the author does not copy his source material verbatim, but rather in the main he thoroughly paraphrases his sources. However, it has also been shown that the author on occasion follows his source material verbatim. Moreover, the author's moderate to thorough reworking may be further categorised under three headings: (i) additions - the addition of unparalleled material to the source material, (ii) alterations - the alteration of aspects already in the source material, and (iii) transpositions - the transposition of material from its original position in the source material.

i. Additions: The author adds small phrases concerning the Jewish people, Jesus, and the women (a phrase or 1-5 lines in the printed text).
ii. Alterations: The author significantly alters the words and actions of a secondary character, the wrongdoer on the cross. He also transfers the actions of the Roman soldiers in his source passages to the Jewish people in his own passage. Additionally, he alters a word within the phrase relaying the title of the cross and within the phrase containing Jesus' cry from the cross which significantly changes their meaning.
iii. Transpositions: The author for the most part follows his sources in their arrangement of material; however, in one instance he notably moves material from its original position in the source passage and resituates it at an earlier position in his own passage.

In these example passages it has been shown that within a single passage, the author of the Gospel of Peter extensively employs a variety of methods to freely adapt his source material and create his own new piece of writing. Additionally, these are not isolated examples, but rather reflect the author's continual adaptation of his source material throughout his gospel.

Conclusion to Part One

The foregoing analysis in this first part of the study has mapped out some of the ways in which ancient authors used and freely adapted their written source material within a larger spectrum of ancient compositional practices. Firstly, the theory of this type of source use and adaptation was explored in the rhetorical handbooks of Theon and Quintilian. Secondly, the practice of this type of source use and adaptation was investigated in the works of Plutarch, Tacitus, Josephus, and the Gospel of Peter by comparing these authors' material to the comparable material in their extant source texts. These authors were selected as they are contemporaneous with the fourth evangelist and they offer a representative picture of some of the ways in which written sources were used and freely adapted, and thereby offer a more suitable setting in which to situate John's use of Mark.

Through the assessment of two rhetorical handbooks dating from the first century CE it was shown that these pedagogical texts set out the theory of using and freely adapting written texts by introducing the notion of taking a text and grammatically inflecting its words, expanding or condensing its contents, rearranging its structure, or paraphrasing its contents; and by encouraging the practice of taking a text and creating a new and improved piece of writing by adding to and omitting from the contents of the written text.

Additionally, by comparing the writings of Plutarch, Tacitus, Josephus, and the author of the Gospel of Peter to their extant source material a representative picture of the manner in which written source texts were used and freely adapted was illustrated. Each of the four authors surveyed freely adapted their source material, but they also varied slightly in the degree to which they reworked their source material. For example, Josephus appears to moderately rework his material, the Petrine author seems to moderately/thoroughly rework his material, and Plutarch along with Tacitus appear to thoroughly rework their source material. Moreover, in regard to their specific use and adaptation of source material the comparative work has demonstrated that these authors do not copy the wording of their source material verbatim, but rather they paraphrase or thoroughly reword the language of their source. However, it was also demonstrated in the work of Plutarch and more extensively in the Gospel of Peter that these authors on occasion directly copy the wording of their source material. Additionally, it was observed that the reworking of these four authors' sources may be further categorised under four headings. The following summary is a compilation of the results from each comparison:

i. Additions – *The addition of unparalleled material to the source material*: The authors surveyed add small (a phrase or 1-5 lines in the printed text), medium (5-15 lines in the printed text), and large (20 or more lines in the printed text) pieces of information within various parts of their source material.

ii. Omissions – *The omission of material in the source material*: The authors surveyed remove small (a phrase or 1-5 lines in the printed text), medium (5-15 lines in the printed text), and large (20 or more lines in the printed text) sections of material from their source material.

iii. Alterations – *The retention and alteration of aspects in the source material*: The authors surveyed slightly, moderately, and thoroughly change the words, actions, and motivations of both primary and secondary characters presented in the source material. Additionally, Josephus, and more notably the Petrine author transfer the words and actions from one or more of the characters to other figures in the narrative.

iv. Transpositions – *The transposition of material from its original position in the source material*: The authors surveyed notably move material positioned at the end of their source material to the beginning of their own narrative and vice versa. Additionally, Plutarch makes a slight change to the ordering of material within an individual section in his source material.

Furthermore, in these example passages from the works of Plutarch, Tacitus, Josephus, and the author of the Gospel of Peter it has been demonstrated that within a single passage these authors utilise a variety of methods to adapt their source material in order to create their own new piece of writing. Additionally, these passages are not isolated examples, but rather reflect the authors' continual adaptation of source material throughout their own works.

Therefore, this first part of the study has gathered data which demonstrates the theory and practice of using and freely adapting of written sources. These results will be taken into consideration in the second part of this study when John's use of Mark is explored.

Part 2

Ancient Source Use and Adaptation: John's use of Mark

Introduction

The fourth evangelist composed his gospel within a thriving literary culture in which authors used and freely adapted written sources by employing a variety of adaptive methods. This second part of the study seeks to investigate and posit John's use of Mark by comparing the second and fourth gospel and by considering the relationship between the two gospels in light of the data gathered in the first part of the study. This part of the study will take the first two chapters of John's gospel as a test case and will compare the material in these chapters to similar material in Mark's gospel. This will be presented in five sections by dividing the fourth gospel's two chapters into their respective five pericopae: The Prologue –John 1:1-18, John the Witness – John 1:19-34, The Disciples – John 1:35-51, The Wedding at Cana – John 2:1-11, and the Temple Incident – John 1:13-22. Within these five sections the study shall initially interact with scholarship which argues for and against John's use of Mark in regard to the particular pericopae in question. Subsequently, the study will present two major segments within each of the five sections: a Comparative Analysis and an Explanatory Analysis. Each comparative analysis will compare the material present in Mark and John and shall demonstrate with specific examples how the relationship between the two gospels reflects the fourth evangelist's possible utilisation of adaptive techniques similar to those employed by his literary contemporaries. These examples are not always a perfect fit; however, they do offer helpful points of comparison. Then each explanatory analysis shall seek to account for John's adaptation of the Markan material in light of his wider compositional aims by exploring the various theological, christological, and literary themes within the gospel.

I. The Prologue: John 1:1-18

John's gospel opens with an impressive and extensive prologue which is considered by Johannine scholars to be 'an inexhaustible, literarily unfathomable, text.'[315] The prologue's unique literary nature has led scholars to observe the differences between John's prologue and the prologues of the Synoptic evangelists. For example, J.R. Harris comments concerning John's prologue:

> The words in John's prologue are 'so unlike any other evangelical prologue: their *Beginning* is not the "Genesis of Jesus Christ" in Matthew; nor the *Beginning of the Gospel* in Mark; their glory of the Son of God is not the abrupt formula with which Mark opens and which he uses his pictorial records to attest: the artistic fashion of them does not appear to be made on the lines of some previously successful literary artist, like the elegant Greek of the first verses of St Luke.[316]

Harris argues that the fourth evangelist independently composes his prologue and is influenced in the writing of his prologue by the content present in the eighth chapter of Proverbs. For example, the σοφία of Proverbs becomes the Λόγος of the prologue.[317] In a similar vein, arguing for John's dependence on an independent source, Bultmann posits that the author of the fourth gospel 'made a cultic community hymn the basis for his Prologue' (John 1:1-5, 9-12b, 14, 16) and has 'developed it with his own comments' (John 1:6-8, 12c-13, 15, 17-18).[318] Likewise, Brown observes the differences between John's prologue and the Synoptic prologues. In this regard he writes:

> The opening of the gospel, the Prologue has a certain uniqueness. In Jewish and Hellenistic literature the normal opening of a book that recounts a story is either a lapidary summary of contents (Luke, Revelation) or the heading of the first chapter (Mark). Such a poetic opening as the Prologue can be matched only in the epistles like 1 John and Hebrews. As for content, although the two other gospels, Matthew and Luke, have a preface before they begin the account of Jesus' public ministry, these prefaces take an entirely different approach from that of the Prologue.[319]

Thus, Brown similarly posits that the fourth evangelist independently wrote his prologue and did so by drawing on an 'early Christian hymn' (John 1:1-5, 10-12b, 14, 16) and adding to it his own material (John 1:6-9, 12c-13, 15, 17-18).[320] The notion that John independently composes his prologue by drawing on an earlier piece of hymnal writing to which he added his own material has also most recently been posited by J. Ashton. He accepts the view that 'the evangelist has taken a Logos

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[315] R. Allan Culpepper, Udo Schnelle, and Jan G. van der Watt, eds, "Forward," in *The Prologue of the Gospel of John: Its Literary, Theological and Philosophical Contexts. Papers read at the Colloquium Ionneum 2013*., WUNT I/359 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), XVIII.

[316] James R. Harris, *The Origin of the Prologue to St John's Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1917), 2.

[317] Harris, *The Origin of the Prologue to St John's Gospel*, 6.

[318] Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, 17.

[319] Brown, *The Gospel according to John I-XII*, 18.

[320] Brown, *The Gospel according to John I-XII*, 1, 21-3.

hymn, probably written by one of his own community, and adapted it to make a new beginning for his gospel.'[321] He proposes that the original hymn compromises of verses 1-4, 10-11, the beginning of 12, most of 14, and 16.[322]

However, the similarities between John's prologue and particularly Mark's prologue have also been observed. For example, M.D. Hooker has astutely described the similarities between these two prologues:

> These first thirteen verses [Mark's prologue] stand apart from the rest of the gospel and provide the key to what follows. They give us certain information about Jesus which enables us to understand the significance of the events that follow. In this respect they may be compared with the prologue of John's gospel (John 1.1-18). The two passages perhaps appear very different in character, the one consisting of narrative, the other of philosophical exposition. Nevertheless, both set out to give us information about Jesus which will provide the key to our understanding of the rest of the gospel – and what they tell us is in some ways remarkably similar. John speaks of the Logos, and Mark of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, but both explain who Jesus is by comparing him to John the Baptist, and by stressing Jesus' superiority. John speaks of his activity in creation, and Mark of the fact that the creative spirit of God rests on him. In both Jesus is Son of God, and his relationship to the father is described in similar terms – 'beloved' (ἀγαπητός, used especially of an only child) in Mark, 'only' (μονογενής) in John.[323]

Hooker observes that Mark and John's prologues are comparable in terms of their function as introductions to the gospels,[324] and in terms of the technique employed to depict Jesus. Additionally, she perceives some similarities in the way in which Jesus is described by each of the evangelists. Moreover, Hooker also importantly recognises the notable difference between the two prologues, namely Jesus' identity as the Christ and Son of God in Mark's prologue and Jesus' identity as the Λόγος in John's prologue. The following analysis seeks to suggest that John used the material in Mark's prologue. This will be achieved by appreciating the relationship between

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[321] John Ashton, "Really a Prologue," in *The Prologue of the Gospel of John: Its Literary, Theological and Philosophical Contexts. Papers read at the Colloquium Ionneum 2013*, ed. R. Allan Culpepper, Udo Schnelle, Jan G. van der Watt., WUNT I/359 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 41.

[322] Ashton, "Really a Prologue," 36.

[323] Morna D. Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1991), 31. See also Hooker's monograph in which she lays out the similarities between the prologues in each of the canonical gospels. Morna D. Hooker, *Beginnings: Keys that Open the Gospels* (London: SCM Press, 1997). Interestingly, Dodd who argues for John's independence from Mark, nevertheless observed the similarities between the Markan and Johannine prologues: Mark 1.1-15 and John 1.1-18. He proposes that Mark 1:1-3 = John 1:1-18 as both relate to the fulfilment of prophecy and Mark 1:4-15 = John 1:19-51 as both present John the Baptist as a witness to Jesus's identity as the Messiah, in John the disciples simply conform to this testimony, and both evangelists conclude with a statement made by Jesus himself. In Mark's gospel Jesus declares 'the time is fulfilled and the Kingdom of God is at hand, repent and believe in the gospel' (Mark 1:15) and in John's gospel Jesus declares 'truly truly I say to you will see that you will see the heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending on the Son of Man.' (John 1:51). Dodd, *Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 292-95.

[324] For an excellent discussion of the themes that are introduced in John's prologue and subsequently expanded on in the narrative (the origin of Jesus, the role of Jesus as a revealer of God, the response to Jesus, and John (the Baptist)) see Warren Carter, "The Prologue and John's Gospel: Function, Symbol and the Definitive word," *JSNT* 39 (1990): 35-58.

the two gospels, the similarities and the differences, in light of ancient literary compositional practices, particularly in regard to the compositional methods utilised by the fourth evangelist's literary contemporaries.

i. Comparative Analysis

John 1:1-5 and Mark 1:1

Mark and John both commence their prologues with an identification statement which orients their readers to the christological hermeneutic presented throughout their respective gospels. The two evangelists begin by identifying Jesus in the following manner:

Mark 1:1	John 1:1
Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Υἱοῦ Θεοῦ.	Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος.
The beginning of the good news of Jesus Christ, Son of God.	In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.

Mark begins by identifying Jesus as the Christ and the Son of God,[325] while John introduces Jesus in christologically heightened terms as the Λόγος, who was in the beginning with God and who was God.[326] In this instance it may be proposed that John draws on the function and the structural presentation of Mark's prologue by introducing Jesus and identifying him at the start of the gospel, but that he changes the contents to reflect his own elevated christological perspective and to introduce the figure of Jesus which will feature throughout this new gospel. This proposed method of source use and adaptation appears to reflect the practice of *literary imitation* as set out by Quintilian in his rhetorical handbook. Quintilian recommends that an author should draw on the work of their literary predecessors, but adapt the contents of their chosen source so as to create their own new piece of writing. By adapting the identity of Jesus at this initial stage, John sets the scene for his own presentation of Jesus throughout his own new gospel. Additionally, this suggested method of source use and adaptation also aligns with the technique of significantly altering the identity of a protagonist as evidenced in Plutarch's portrayal of Fabius Maximus and Nicias' where he notably changes the words, actions, and motivations of his protagonists to emphasise either the positive or negative characteristics and downplay either the positive or negative qualities. Additionally, it is also seen in Tacitus' presentation of Piso where he emphasises Piso's innocence when the source text highlights his guilt.

[325] For the case that the longer reading 'Son of God' is part of Mark's original text see Tommy Wasserman, "The 'Son of God' was in the Beginning (Mk 1:1)," *JTS* 62 (2011): 20-50.

[326] For a discussion of the Johannine portrayal of Jesus as compared to the Synoptic portrayal of Jesus and particularly how John's Jesus may be read in light of the Synoptic Jesus see Richard Bauckham, *The Gospel of Glory: Major Themes in Johannine Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015), 185-201.

Moreover, the fourth evangelist also appears to expand and add to the identification statement. He seems to include further details, unparalleled in Mark's prologue, to bolster his description of Jesus. In verse one and in this further expanded section, the fourth evangelist identifies Jesus in highly christological terms. He identifies Jesus as being God through being the embodiment of God's nature by associating him with actions attributed to the figure of YHWH in the Genesis creation account.[327] Since just as according to the creation account YHWH was in the beginning before the creation of the world (Gen 1:1), his creative words created all things including light (Gen 1:3), and life (Gen 2:7), and he created light on account of his power over darkness (Gen 1:2, 4), so John draws on these features and presents Jesus as being in the beginning with God before creation (John 1:1-2). He personifies Jesus as God's creative λόγος (John 1:1) and emphasises his imperative role in the creation of all things, noting that without Jesus nothing would have been created (John 1:3). Additionally, he characterises Jesus as the giver of light and life (John 1:4) and as the one who 'overcomes' darkness (John 1:5).[328] This suggested method of source use and adaptation seems to align with the technique of expansion laid out by Theon in his rhetorical handbook and it also aligns with Plutarch and Tacitus' technique of adding medium sized sections of unparalleled material to their source texts. Plutarch in particular adds medium sized sections of material to further bolster his positive presentation of his protagonist Fabius Maximus or his negative portrayal of his protagonist Nicias.

John 1:6-8 and Mark 1:2-15

Following their initial identity statements, both Mark and John introduce John (the Baptist) as a means of continuing their identification of Jesus. Both evangelists achieve this by employing the literary technique of *synkrisis* and contrasting Jesus' character to the character of John (the Baptist). They both intend for Jesus' superior identity to be highlighted by contrasting his identity to the subordinate identity of John (the Baptist). In Mark's gospel the use of *synkrisis* is observed by B.T. Johnson and is as follows:[329]

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[327] M. Hengel proposes that 'the Logos is identical to God.' Martin Hengel, "The Prologue of the Gospel of John as a Gateway to Christological Truth," in *The Gospel of John and Christian Theology*, ed. Richard Bauckham and Carl Mosser (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 266. However, U. Schnelle takes a more nuanced approach and proposes that 'the Logos is neither simply identical with God, nor is he a second god alongside the supreme God; rather, the Logos has God's nature.' Udo Schnelle, "The Person of Jesus Christ in the Gospel of John," in *The Oxford Handbook of Johannine Studies*, ed. Judith M. Lieu and Martinus C. de Boer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 321.

[328] For a discussion of John's use of Genesis in the first five verses of his prologue see Carlos R. Sosa Siliezar, *Creation Imagery in the Gospel of John.*, LNTS 546 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 27-55. Maarten J J. Menken, "Genesis in John's Gospel and 1 John," in *Genesis in the New Testament*, ed. Maarten J J. Menken and Steve Moyise., LNTS 466 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2012), 83-98.

[329] Bradley T. Johnson, *The Form and Function of Mark 1:1-15: A Multi-Disciplinary Approach to the Markan Prologue* (Pittsburgh; Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2017), 51-6.

John the Baptist Mark 1:1-8a	*Jesus* Mark 1:8b-15
John is legitimised by the prophecy of Isaiah (Mark 1:2-3).	Jesus is legitimised by the voice of God from heaven (Mark 1:11).
John is depicted as appearing in the wilderness (Mark 1:4).	Jesus is depicted as surviving in the wilderness for forty days (Mark 1:13).
John is presented as finding sustenance in the form of locusts and wild honey (Mark 1:6).	Jesus is presented as finding sustenance from ministering angels (Mark 1:13).
John is described as a proclaimer of repentance (Mark 1:4, 7).	Jesus is described as a proclaimer of repentance and the Kingdom of God (Mark 1:15).
John is portrayed as baptising with water (Mark 1:8a).	Jesus is portrayed as baptising with the Holy Spirit (Mark 1:8b).

In John's gospel the use of *synkrisis* is noted by C.H. Williams.[330] The material in verses 6-8 concerning John the Baptist is contrasted by the evangelist to material relating to Jesus throughout the prologue. The use of *synkrisis* is as follows:

John the Baptist John 1:6-8	*Jesus* John 1:1-18
John is depicted as a 'man' (John 1:6).	Jesus is depicted as 'God' (John 1:1, 18).
John is described as 'coming into being' (ἐγένετο) (John 1:6).	Jesus is described as being 'in the beginning' (Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν) (John 1:1).
John is portrayed as the witness to the light (John 1:7a).	Jesus is portrayed as the light, the true light (John 1:4, 9).
John is presented as encouraging humanity's belief in Jesus (John 1:7b).	Jesus is presented as the one in whom humanity believes (John 1:12).

In regard to this material, it might be suggested that John draws on the structural positioning of the John the Baptist material and borrows the technique of *synkrisis* to emphasise Jesus' superiority, but he significantly changes the character of John (the Baptist). The second evangelist presents John as a 'baptist', whilst the fourth evangelist presents John as a 'witness'. This suggested method of source use and adaptation appears to parallel the practice of notably altering the portrayal of a secondary character as evidenced in the works of Plutarch where he notably changes Hannibal's character from being fearful and reckless to being brave and astute, and in the Gospel of Peter where the author significantly alters the words of a wrongdoer on the cross. Moreover, the technique of altering material concerning primary and secondary characters in order to create a stark contrast is evidenced in the work of Plutarch where he alters his source material so as to draw a more stark contrast between his protagonist Fabius Maximus and a secondary character Miniscus.

[330] Catrin H. Williams, "John the (Baptist): The Witness on the Threshold," in *Character Studies in the Fourth Gospel: Narrative Approaches to Seventy Figures in John*, ed. Steven A. Hunt, D Francois Tolmie, and Ruben Zimmerman (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 49.

John 1:9-18

Following the introduction of John (the Baptist) in line with the second gospel's prologue, the fourth evangelist continues his own prologue with a section of narrative comparable in length to the foregoing material. This material falls into two parts: belief and unbelief (John 1:9-13) and the author's address to the audience (John 1:14-18). In this material, unparalleled in Mark's prologue, the author of John's gospel firstly introduces two diametrically opposing groups. One group, described as Jesus' own, did not know Jesus and rejected him as the 'true light (John 1:9-11). The other group received Jesus and believed in him and subsequently were bestowed with the right to become 'Children of God' by being 'born of God' (John 1: 10-13) (cf. John 3:19-21).[331] Secondly, the fourth evangelist includes a section of narrative which is written from the perspective of the author and those with whom he associates. In this material, the author of the fourth gospel employs the 1st person plural 'we' and addresses his audience by expressing his own and his associates' understanding of the incarnate Jesus.[332] In a similar manner to the first five verses of his prologue, John further depicts Jesus' unique identity as the embodiment of God's nature by associating him with actions attributed to the figure of YHWH in the Exodus account concerning the second giving of the Law (Exod 34-35). Since just as YHWH revealed to Moses his 'glory' and proclaimed himself to be 'abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness' (וְרַב־חֶסֶד וֶאֱמֶת) (Exod 33:18-19; 34:6),[333] so the author of the fourth gospel draws on and adapts these features and in turn portrays Jesus revealing to him and his associates his 'glory' which was 'full of grace and truth' (πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας) (John 1:14). The fourth evangelist conveys that Jesus embodies God's nature thus embodies the fullness of his grace and truth which he in turn reveals. In this regard, L.J. Kuyper observes 'it seems most reasonable to believe that the Old Testament words which were used to describe the Lord God of Israel are here ascribed to Jesus, thereby attesting to his full deity. What was said of God in the Old Testament is here said to be equally true of Jesus of Nazareth.'[334] Moreover, the

[331] For a further discussion of the term 'Children of God' see Marius de Jonge, "The Son of God and the Children of God," in *Stranger from Heaven and Son of God: Jesus Christ and the Christians in Johannine Perspective* (Missoula, MT; Chico, CA; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1977), 141-68. Matthew Vellanickal, *The Divine Sonship of Christians in the Johannine Writings* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977), 89-151. Severino Pancaro, "'People of God' in St. John's Gospel," *NTS* 16 (1970): 114-29.

[332] M.S. Goodacre proposes that the material within these four verses relating to the glory in which the author and his associates have seen, has been influenced by the Synoptic Transfiguration accounts (Matt 17:1-8 // Mark 9:2-8 // Luke 9:28-36). Mark S. Goodacre "The Beloved Disciple for Readers of the Synoptics" (paper presented at the Speaker's Lectures in Biblical Studies, Oxford, 9 May 2017).

[333] In the LXX the Lord God is described as being οἰκτίρμων καὶ ἐλεήμων, μακρόθυμος καὶ πολυέλεος καὶ ἀληθινὸς 'compassionate and merciful, patient and very merciful, and truthful' (LXX Exod 34:6). Therefore, John seems to be closer to the MT.

[334] Lester J. Kuyper, "Grace and Truth: An Old Testament Description of God, and its use in the Johannine Gospel," *Interp.* 18 (1964): 11. For a thorough discussion concerning the connection, or lack thereof, between Exodus 33-34 and John's prologue see Anthony T. Hanson, "John i.14-18 and Exodus xxxiv," *NTS* 32 (1976): 90-101.

author of the fourth gospel further emphasises Jesus' unique and superior identity through contrasting his character to the character of Moses in Exodus. Moses is depicted as the mediator who offers YHWH's 'grace' in the form of the Law to the Israelites (Exod 34:29-33 // John 1:17a), while Jesus is described as the one who directly offers YHWH's 'grace' (John 1:17b).[335] The author of John's gospel emphasises Jesus' unique identity on account of the superiority of the 'grace' with the short phrase 'from his fullness we have all received grace instead of (ἀντὶ) of grace.' (John 1:16).[336] Finally, the evangelist draws his prologue to a close with material which forms an *inclusio* with the prologue's initial verses.[337] John 1:1 - Jesus 'was with God' and Jesus 'was God' // John 1:18 - Jesus 'is at the Father's side, he has made him known' and Jesus is the 'only God'.[338] With this the fourth evangelist highlights the unique identity of Jesus which will feature throughout his own new gospel. Finally, in the midst of this final section, the fourth evangelist inserts another reference to John (the Baptist) and further emphasises his role as a witness to Jesus. He describes that John 'witnesses concerning' Jesus as he 'cried' out 'this was he of whom I was saying, the one coming after me has precedence over me because he was before me' (John 1:15). Hooker observes that the two references to John (the Baptist) are situated within the two main sections of the prologue: A: 1.1-5, **6-8**, 9-13 and B: 1.14, **15**, 16-18. She suggests that the evangelist makes this structural decision so as to present John (the Baptist) serving as a witness to the information pertaining to Jesus' identity in these two sections.[339] In relation to this material it may be suggested that the author of the fourth gospel adds this medium

[335] Stanley Harstine, *Moses as a Character in the Fourth Gospel: A Study of Ancient Reading Techniques*., JSNTSup 229 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 47-9. On the character of Moses and the character of Jesus see also Marie-Émile Boismard, *Moses Or Jesus: An Essay in Johannine Christology* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993).

[336] R. Edwards further posits that the superior grace which Jesus offers replaces the former grace offered by Moses. Thus, she argues for the translation of ἀντὶ as 'instead of' as she observes that 'John both recognizes the immense value of God's revelation to the Jews, and realizes that there is a sense in which this has been superseded. That is the point ἀντὶ ('instead of) in v.16.' Ruth Edwards, "KAPIN ANTI KAPITOΣ (John 1.16) Grace and the Law in the Johannine Prologue," *JSNT* 32 (1988): 10.

[337] The chiastic structure of John's prologue and the inclusio formed between verses 1 and 18 has been observed on several occasions. For example, R. Alan Culpepper, "The Pivot of John's Prologue," *NTS* 27 (1980): 9-10. Pierre Lamarche, "Le Prologue de Jean," *RSR* 52 (1964): 529-32. Marie-Émile Boismard, *St John's Prologue*, trans. Carisbrooke Dominicans (London: Blackfriars Publications, 1957), 79-80. Nils W. Lund, "The Influence of Chiasmus upon the Structure of the Gospels," *AThR* 13 (1931): 42-6.

[338] The prevailing view among exegetes is that the adjective μονογενής in John 1.14, 18; 3.16, 18 should be translated 'only' or 'single'. For a thorough discussion of this opinion see Gerard Pendrick, "ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ," *NTS* 41 (1995): 587-600. For the opposing view that μονογενής should be translated 'begotten' see John V. Dahms, "The Johannine Use of Monogenēs Reconsidered," *NTS* 29 (1983), 222-32. As for the noun, the earliest Greek manuscripts attest the reading Θεός, either in a variant with the definite article ὁ μονογενὴς Θεός (𝔓75 33 1א), or without the definite article μονογενὴς Θεός (𝔓66 א* B C* L). By contrast, later manuscripts, usually of the Byzantine text form, largely attest the reading μονογενὴς υἱός (A C3 K Γ Δ Θ Ψ f1.13 565. 579. 700. 892 1241. 1424 𝔐), with the change from 'God' to 'Son' likely being due to scribal alteration.

[339] Morna D. Hooker, "John the Baptist and the Johannine Prologue," *NTS* 16 (1970): 356-58.

sized section of unparalleled material to the second half of his prologue having used and adapted the form and content of Mark's prologue for the first half. This proposed method of source use and adaptation seems to again parallel with Plutarch and Tacitus' technique of adding medium sized sections of material to their source texts in order to advance their narratives in their own ways. It also appears to parallel Quintilian's technique of addition within his practice of *literary imitation*.

Summary of findings

There are similarities as well as differences between the material present in Mark and John's prologues. However, the differences do not necessarily imply that John composed his prologue by drawing on independent material as proposed by Harris, Bultmann, Dodd, and Ashton. John's use of Mark can be proposed when these differences are taken into consideration alongside the similarities and interpreted in light of ancient compositional practices. Thus, through the comparison of the material in Mark and John's prologues it has been suggested that the fourth evangelist appears to use and adapt Mark in ways comparable to the manner in which his literary contemporaries worked with source material. In methods similar to those set out by Quintilian and Theon and those employed by Plutarch, Tacitus, and the author of the Gospel of Peter, the fourth evangelist seems to thoroughly adapt his source material. He does not copy Mark verbatim, but rather consciously rewrites the contents of Mark's prologue sharing no verbal agreements with the possible exception of the noun ἀρχῇ (John 1:1).[340] He creates his own new prologue to introduce his own new gospel. Additionally, he employs a combination of techniques within this individual pericope: significant alteration of his primary and secondary characters, expansion and addition of medium sized sections of material. Therefore, John seems to follow ancient compositional practice by using and freely adapting Markan material.

II. Explanatory Analysis

Within this section the proposed adaptations made by the fourth evangelist to his Markan source shall be explored in light of the author's wider literary aims in order to account for John's likely adaptation of his source material.

Jesus in John's gospel

The portrayal of Jesus in John's gospel is particularly distinctive. This is observed by Smith, who remarks that 'the Johannine Jesus defies and shatters traditional criteria

[340] It is uncertain whether the use of the noun ἀρχῇ is a deliberate nod to Mark's prologue or whether it is simply a convenient coincidence in light of the Fourth Evangelist's decision to drawn upon the initial verses Genesis. Barrett proposes that John's use of the noun 'beginning' (ἀρχῇ) may suggest that he was using Mark. However, he also notes that on account of John's employment of Genesis imagery in his prologue the first sentence may allude more to the first verse of Genesis. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 151.

or expectation.'[341] In the comparative analysis it was suggested that in line with the compositional methods set out in the compositional handbooks and in line with the methods utilised by his literary contemporaries, the fourth evangelist changes the identity of Jesus to present him as being God himself through being the embodiment of God's nature and thus the one who makes God known (John 1:1-4, 18).[342] John seems to make this adaptation within his prologue so that he might introduce his own highly christological figure of Jesus and orientate his audience to this figure who will feature throughout his own new gospel. The premise that Jesus is God through the embodiment of God's nature and is the one who reveals God is emphasised at key points in the gospel narrative. At the end of the gospel, the fourth evangelist depicts Thomas declaring to Jesus 'my Lord and my God' (John 20:28) which forms an *inclusio* with John's initial identification statement in the first verse of the prologue (John 1:1). Additionally, the fourth evangelist portrays Jesus himself communicating his unique identity as the embodiment and revealer of God at various points throughout the gospel narrative. For example, Jesus remarks 'I and the Father are one' (John 10:30) and 'the Father is in me and I am in the father' (John 10:38b). He also depicts Jesus further explaining that his works are the Father's works (John 5:17), his teaching is the Father's teaching (John 7:16), and his authority is the Father's authority (John 5:19).[343]

The fourth evangelist also perhaps makes this adaptation so as to fulfil his premise that Jesus returns and ascends to the Father and thus he must also have left and descended from the Father. In his prologue, the author of the fourth gospel presents Jesus as being with God (John 1:1) and as coming into world (John 1:9). Subsequently, at the end of the gospel, the fourth evangelist depicts Jesus following his resurrection informing Mary Magdalene that he must ascend to the Father (John 20:17).

John as a witness to Jesus

In the prologue to the fourth gospel, John is introduced for the first time. In the comparative analysis it was proposed that the fourth evangelist significantly alters

[341] Smith, *The Theology of John's Gospel*, 94. In a similar vein M. Casey remarks 'the Christology of the fourth Gospel is one of its most remarkable features and one which distinguishes it sharply from the Synoptics.' Maurice Casey, *Is John's Gospel True?* (London; New York: Routledge, 1996), 30.

[342] For a literary discussion of the unique and intimate relationship between the Son and the Father (SFR) as set out in John's prologue see Adesola Joan Akala, *The Son-Father Relationship and Christological Symbolism in the Gospel of John*., LNTS 505 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014), 127-45.

[343] This small section is not intended to offer an extensive discussion of Johannine Christology, but rather it seeks to account for John's adaptation of Mark's prologue in relation to the figure of Jesus. Important Christological themes raised in the prologue will be discussed as they appear throughout the ensuing gospel narrative. For recent and thorough discussions of Johannine Christology see Schnelle, "The Person of Jesus Christ in the Gospel of John," 331-34. Jörg Frey, *The Glory of the Crucified One: Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel*, trans. Wayne Coppins and Christoph Heilig (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2018). William Loader, *Jesus in John's Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2017).

the identity and presentation of John as a secondary character in line with the techniques employed by his literary contemporaries. The fourth evangelist seems to make this adaptation within his prologue so that he might introduce his audience to the figure of John and orientate them to aspects of John's witnessing which feature in the first half of the gospel. This is observed by D. G. van der Merwe, who writes 'the few verses, concerning the Baptist in the Prologue (1:6-8, 15)…contextualise the appearance of the Baptist in chapter 1 and prepare the readers for what they can expect from the ministry of the Baptist.'[344] Moreover, Dodd and more recently Williams have mapped out the portrayal of John, starting with his introduction in the prologue and continuing with his presentation throughout the early parts of the gospel. The following is an amalgamation and reformulation of their suggestions in order to show the fourth evangelist's introduction of John's role in the prologue and his presentation of John fulfilling his role as a witness throughout the initial parts of the gospel.[345]

John was not the light (John 1:8a) / John was subordinate to Jesus (John 1:5)

- John denied that he was the Christ, Elijah, or the Prophet (John 1:20-21).
- John stated that Jesus was before him and had precedence over him (John 1:30).
- John denied that he was the Christ (John 3:28).
- John declared that Jesus must increase and that he must decrease (John 3:30).
- John is depicted as performing no signs (John 10:41a).

John was a witness to the light (John 1:7a, 8b)

- John witnessed to Jesus as the Lamb of God, the Son of God, and the baptiser with the Holy Spirit (John 1:29-34).
- John is described as being sent to witness to the truth (John 5:33).
- John is presented as witnessing to the truth concerning Jesus (John 10:41b).

John bore witness so that all might believe (John 1:7b)

- John's testimony lead his two disciples to believe in Jesus (John 1:35-37).
- John's testimony is portrayed as bringing many to believe in Jesus (John 10:42).

These three features of John's role as a witness are introduced by the author of the fourth gospel in the prologue and are subsequently repeated in the portrayal of John's words and actions throughout the first half of the gospel.

Rejection and Unbelief contra Acceptance and Belief

In the prologue, John introduces two diametrically opposing groups. One group responds positively to Jesus while the other responds negatively. In the comparative

[344] Dirk G. van der Merwe, "The historical and theological significance of John the Baptist as he is portrayed in John 1," *Neot.* 33 (1999): 268.
[345] Williams, "John (the Baptist): The Witness on the Threshold," 50. Dodd, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, 248-49.

analysis it was suggested that the fourth evangelist includes this material as part of a larger addition which aligns with the methods utilised by his literary contemporaries. John appears to make this adaptation as this new material acts as a precursor to two major themes which will be addressed in the ensuing gospel narrative. Firstly, in this regard, Brown and more recently Lincoln observe that the mention of the former negative group 'his own' (John 1:11) provides a preview to the first half of the gospel which relates predominantly to those who fail to accept or believe in Jesus (John 1:19-12.50), while the reference to the latter positive group (John 1:12-13) offers a preview to the second half of the gospel which depicts Jesus engaging with those accept him and believed in him (John 13:1-17.26).[346] For example, in the first half of the gospel those who were his own – 'the Jews' are depicted as being unreceptive and hostile toward Jesus ('the Jews' as a concept shall be explored further in the following section)[347] (e.g. 'the Jews' 'grumbled' and 'disputed' Jesus' teaching (John 6:41, 52); 'the Jews' failed to appreciate his identity and accused him of being demon possessed (John 8:48, 10:19); 'the Pharisees' failed to accept Jesus' testimony as true (John 8:13); 'the Jews', 'the Pharisees and chief priests' sought to arrest Jesus (John 7:32, 10:39, 11:57); 'the Jews' sought to kill Jesus (John 5:18, 10:31), and they are further portrayed as failing to believe in Jesus despite his *signs* (John 12:37). Conversely, in the second half of the gospel those who were receptive and came to believe in Jesus are now described as being Jesus' 'own' (John 13:1), they have become Children of God (cf. John 1:12); 'Children of light' (John 12:36).[348] Through Jesus' words, John describes the believers as 'no longer being of the world' as Jesus has chosen them out of the world (John 15:18-19; 17:6, 9, 14, 16). Secondly, the stark contrast drawn by the fourth evangelist between the two groups in his prologue also introduces his audience to the striking contrasts drawn between these two groups which are presented in the first half of the gospel. These contrasts have been illustrated by U.C. von Wahlde and are as follows: [349]

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[346] Brown, *The Gospel according to John I-XII*, 19. Lincoln, *The Gospel according to John*, 102. Additionally, J.A.T. Robinson puts forward a similar idea as he notes 'it may be that there is a deliberate correspondence between the structure of the Prologue and that of the Gospel'. He suggests that John 1:11 = John 10:1-12.50 and John 1:12 = John 13:1-20.29. The first nine chapters of the gospel he proposes correspond with the first five verses on the prologue: 'Christ as the agent of (the new) creation': John 1:3 = John 1:35-4:42; 'Christ as the life of the world': John 1:4 = Jn 4:43-6:71; 'Christ as the light of the world': John 1:4f. = John 8:1-9:41. James A T. Robinson, "The Relation of the Prologue to the Gospel of St John," *NTS* 9 (1963): 122-23.

[347] C. Bennema and L. Kierspel posit that 'the world' and 'the Jews' are both sets of characters in John's gospel and that these two groups are often synonymous. Cornelius Bennema, *Encountering Jesus: Character Studies in the Gospel of John* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2014), 75. Lars Kierspel, *The Jews and the World in the Fourth Gospel: Parallelism, Function, and Context*., WUNT II/220 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006).

[348] For a further discussion of the notion of 'light' in John's gospel see Norman R. Petersen, *The Gospel of John and the Sociology of Light: Language and Characterization in the Fourth Gospel* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1993).

[349] Urban C. von Wahlde, "Literary Structure and Theological Argument in Three Discourses with the Jews in the Fourth Gospel," *JBL* 103 (1984): 575-77.

The Jews demand proof of who Jesus is.

- John 6:30 – 'What sign do you do, that we may see and believe in you?'
- John 8:25 – 'Who are you?'
- John 10:24 – 'If you are the Christ tell us plainly.'

Jesus tells them that they have already seen/heard but do not believe.

- John 6:36 – 'I am the bread of life, whoever comes to me shall not hunger and whoever believes in me shall never thirst.'
- John 8:25 – 'Just what I have been telling you from the beginning.'
- John 10:25 – 'I told you and you do not believe. The works that I do in my father's name bear witness about me.'

Jesus offers the reason for their unbelief.

- John 6:37 – 'All that the Father gives will come to me.' ('the Jews' were not 'given' to Jesus)
- John 8:47 – 'Whoever is of God hears the words of God and the reason that you do not hear them is because you are not of God.'
- John 10:26 – 'But you do not believe because you are not part of my flock.'

Jesus speaks to those who do believe.

- John 6:37 – 'All that the Father gives me will come to me.' (believers were 'given' to Jesus)
- John 8:47a – 'Whoever is of God hears the words of God.'
- John 10:27 – 'My sheep hear my voice and I know them and they follow me.'

Jesus explains that he will not lose any that are his own.

- John 6:39 – 'And this is the will of him who sent me, that I should lose nothing of all that was given to me, but raise it up on the last day.'
- John 8:51 – 'Truly truly I say to you if anyone keeps my word they will never see death.'
- John 10:28b – 'They shall never perish and no one will snatch them out of my hand.'

Jesus affirms that those who believe will be granted eternal life.

- John 6:40 – 'For this is the will of my Father that everyone who looks on the Son and believes in him should have eternal life and I shall raise him up on the last day.'
- John 8:35 – 'The slave does not remain in the house forever, the Son remains forever.'
- John 10:28a – 'I give them eternal life.'

There are further stark contrasts not mentioned by von Wahlde in the first half of the gospel between those who receive and believe in Jesus and those who do not. For example, John portrays Jesus speaking of the Father who sent him and in response he presents some people of Jerusalem seeking to arrest Jesus on account of his words, while he presents many others believing in Jesus on the basis of his words (John 7:25-31). Additionally, he presents Jesus again speaking of the Father who sent him and he describes 'the Jews' as failing to understand Jesus' words, whilst he depicts many others believing in Jesus on the basis of his words (John 8:21-30). Furthermore, he portrays Jesus speaking of his relationship with the Father and his

authority over life and death given to him by the Father and in response the evangelist presents the division between 'the Jews' as some accuse Jesus of possessing a demon on account of his words, while others argue that on the basis of his words he could not possess a demon (John 10:7-21). Finally, the fourth evangelist describes Jesus explaining that he and the Father are one and in response portrays 'the Jews' trying to stone Jesus on account of his words, whilst he describes that many others believed in Jesus on the basis of his words (John 10:22-42).

The Author and Audience

In the prologue, the fourth evangelist as author addresses his audience. In the comparative analysis it was proposed that John includes this material as part of a larger addition which aligns with the techniques employed by his literary contemporaries. It seems that the author of John's gospel has introduced this material at the beginning of the gospel in order to form an *inclusio* with material at the end of the gospel. At the beginning and at the end of the gospel he as implied authors addresses the implied audience (John 1:14-18 and John 20:30-31; John 21:24-25).[350] At the start of the gospel the author, as a believer, informs his audience 'we have seen his glory' (John 1:14) and 'we have all received grace' (John 1:16). So at the end of chapter 20, having in the course of his writing narrated the instances of glory to which he was witness (e.g. *signs*), the evangelist informs his audience that he has written them down in order that they might too through the narration of the signs see Jesus' glory, and so that 'you may believe' (ἵνα πιστεύητε), and in turn receive grace in the form of eternal life (John 20:30-31). Moreover, at the end of chapter 21 the audience is again addressed as they are told that the Beloved Disciple is the witness to the events in the gospel and the one who recorded them in the medium of writing, and the truthfulness of this figure's testimony is also verified (John 21:25). The relation of this statement to the statements in the prologue is adeptly described by D.M.H. Tovey:

> The narrator's claim to have seen Jesus' glory and to have received the fullness of his grace (1.14, 16) is undergirded by the presence in the narrative of an anonymous disciple. This anonymous disciple materializes with increasing specificity of characterisation under the epithets of 'the disciple whom Jesus loved' and 'the other disciple', to take on the role of a disciple who occupies a place of privileged access to the events unfolding as Jesus approaches his 'hour'…The reader discovers in the

[350] John 20:30-31 offers a suitable conclusion to the gospel; however, chapter 21 follows on from this and offers a second conclusion. A. Baum argues that John 20:30-31 was the original ending to the gospel and John 21:1-25 was added later. Armin Baum, "The Original Epilogue (John 20:30-31), the Secondary Appendix (John 21:1-23), and the Editorial Epilogues (John 21:24-25)," in *Earliest Christian History: History, Literature, and Theology. Essays from the Tyndale Fellowship in Honor of Martin Hengel*, ed. Michael F. Bird and Jason Maston., WUNT II/320 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 227-70. Conversely, Bauckham argues that John 21:1-25 was original to the gospel. Richard Bauckham, "The Fourth Gospel as the Testimony of the Beloved Disciple," in *The Gospel of John and Christian Theology*, ed. Richard Bauckham and Carl Mosser (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 120-40.

> narrative statement of 21.24 that this disciple's reliable witness is carried forward into the time of discourse as he is identified as the authoritative source upon whose testimony the narrative is based. Thus the reader may retrospectively identify him as the disciple who has been with Jesus from the beginning and who may, as a member of the band of disciples legitimately claim a share in his grace and a vision of his glory.[351]

Summary of Findings

The fourth evangelist seems to adapt his Markan source material in ways comparable to the techniques laid out Quintilian and Theon and employed by his literary contemporaries. In the foregoing discussion it has been illustrated that the proposed adaptations made by the fourth evangelist can be accounted for in light of his wider literary aims. The author of John's gospel appears to have adapted the material in the Markan prologue so as to introduce his audience to his protagonist Jesus and his secondary character John (the Baptist) and also to introduce the theme of belief and unbelief and the fourth evangelist's position as author and witness.

II. John the Witness: John 1:19-34

John's gospel proper opens with a section of narrative concerning John (the Witness). Within this material there are some notable points of similarity between the fourth evangelist's presentation of John and the Markan evangelist's portrayal of the Baptist. However, there are also a number of significant differences between the presentation of John (the Baptist) in the Markan and Johannine gospels. In light of these similarities and differences, Gardner-Smith makes the following comment concerning the fourth evangelist:

> The general picture he presents of the work of the Baptist might perhaps be taken as the free development of material derived from Mark; with some elements omitted and with new emphasis on certain aspects…[However] no important dogmatic interest seems to be involved, and it is easier to think that the Fourth evangelist wrote at a time when traditions about John had not yet been fixed by the acceptance of the written Gospels.[352]

Thus, rather than exploring the possibility that the fourth evangelist uses and deliberately adapts Markan material in line with his own authorial aims, Gardner-Smith prefers to posit that the evangelist 'composes an original account, the product of his own faith working on floating traditions of the Christian Church and uninfluenced by the other accounts which gained currency simultaneously in quite different circles of believers.'[353] In a similar vein, Dodd argues that John 1:19-34 depends on 'traditional material'. He suggests that verses 19-27 have been taken over directly from the independent traditions and further proposes that verses 28-34 are drawn from traditional material but 'evidence some pragmatic rehandling of the

[351] Derek M H. Tovey, *Narrative Art and Act in the Fourth* Gospel., JSNTSup. 151 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 256-57.
[352] Gardner-Smith, *Saint John and the Synoptic Gospels*, 6.
[353] Gardner-Smith, *Saint John and the Synoptic Gospels*, 8.

material in the interests of Johannine doctrine'.[354] Therefore, Dodd is willing to posit that the fourth evangelist reshapes independent traditional material in line with his authorial aims, yet is unwilling to consider the possibility that the author of the fourth gospel deliberately adapts Markan material to suit his authorial aims.

Conversely, Goulder strongly argues that the fourth evangelist draws on Mark's material concerning John the Baptist and consciously adapts the contents of the material by using techniques which he believes are evidenced elsewhere in the evangelist's use of Mark. In relation to verses 19-28, Goulder makes the following assertion:

> Mark had begun with the announcement that John the Baptist was the ἀρχή of the Gospel; and he had then gone onto a description of the Baptist's ministry. This he gave in two short paragraphs. In the firth the Baptist is pictured as preaching and baptising in fulfilment of Isaiah: he is the forerunner (actually of Malachi 3) and the voice crying out in the wilderness in Isa 40. In the second he relates his position to that of the coming one, that is Jesus: he is not fit to undo the latter's shoes, and where he baptises with water Jesus will baptise with the Holy Spirit. *The Fourth evangelist follows the outline step by step, with just those adaptations which we have come to expect*.[355]

Additionally, in regard to verses 29-34 concerning the baptism of Jesus, Goulder proposes that John again draws from the Markan material and 'rewrites the story carefully.'[356] Thus, the following analysis seeks to suggest that John used the Markan material concerning John the Baptist. This will be achieved by assessing the use and deliberate adaptation of source material in light of ancient literary compositional practices, particularly in regard to the compositional methods utilised by the fourth evangelist's literary contemporaries.

i. Comparative Analysis

Mark and John both introduce John (the Baptist) within their prologues. As previously noted there are similarities between the presentation of John (the Baptist) in Mark and John's prologue (Mark 1:2-15 // John 1:6-8); however, there are also some more notable similarities between Mark's depiction of John the Baptist in his prologue (Mark 1:2-11 and John's portrayal of John in the first pericope of his gospel (John 1:19-34).

John 1:19b, 21a, 22, 25a and Mark 1:4-5

Both evangelists present individuals leaving their current location in order to seek John (the Baptist). Mark presents 'all the country of Judea and all Jerusalem' comprehending the Baptist's identity and positively seeking his 'baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins' (Mark 1:4-5). However, John portrays 'priests and Levites' sent from Jerusalem by 'the Jews' to seek John as they fail to

[354] Dodd, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, 276.
[355] Goulder, "John 1,1-2,12 and the Synoptics," 212. The italics have been added for emphasis.
[356] Goulder, "John 1,1-2,12 and the Synoptics," 213.

understand his identity and negatively ask him 'who are you?' (John 1:19b, 22a), 'what then?' (John 1:21a), 'what do you say about yourself?' (John 1:22b), and 'why are you baptising?' (John 1:25a).[357] Mark presents the Jewish people understanding and positively responding to John the Baptist's role, while John portrays the Jewish authorities as not understating and responding negatively to John's role. In this instance it might be suggested that the fourth evangelist draws on the notion of individuals seeking John (the Baptist), but that he notably changes the individuals doing the seeking and significantly changes their actions. This proposed method of source use and adaptation seems to align with the practice of transferring the actions of a character/s to another character/s as evidenced in the Gospel of Peter where the Petrine author transfers the actions of the Roman soldiers to the Jewish people and in the work of Josephus where the historian attributes the actions of Mattathias and his friends to just Mattathias. Additionally, it also reflects the technique of significantly altering the actions of secondary characters as seen in the biographical works of Plutarch, and in the Gospel of Peter.

John 1:20-21 and Mark 1:4-6

Both Mark and John deal with John (the Baptist's) prophetic status and his salvific role in relation to Jesus' role. The second evangelist presents the Baptist as a prophetic like figure who offers an eschatological message of salvation and preforms a preliminary salvific act, while the fourth evangelist emphasises that John is not a prophetic like figure and does not hold any salvific role. Mark depicts the physical characteristics of the Baptist's appearance by noting that he was clothed in 'camel hair' and a 'leather belt' (Mark 1:6) and describes the Baptist as 'proclaiming a baptism for the forgiveness of sins' (Mark 1:4). This description of John the Baptist along with the portrayal of him proclaiming an eschatological message has led scholars to identify him with Elijah, as being clothed in 'camel hair' and a 'leather belt' reflects attire that Elijah is described as wearing in 2 Kings 1:8, and proclaiming an eschatological message relating to repentance and the forgiveness of sin has allusions to Elijah's call for repentance before the coming day of the Lord in Malachi 5:1.[358] Additionally, Mark presents John's baptism as a preliminary salvific act

[357] For a thorough discussion of the notion of a trial motif present throughout John's gospel see Andrew T. Lincoln, *Truth on Trial: The Lawsuit Motif in the Fourth Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000).

[358] In regard to John the Baptist's identity as Elijah, W. Wink writes, 'the perceptive reader cannot miss Mark's point: John is the prophet of the end time, the eschatological messenger of Malachi; yes, he is Elijah who came first to restore all things.' Walter Wink, *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition*., SNTSMS 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 1968), 3. Moreover, the final verses in Mark's transfiguration pericope which read 'Elijah does come first to restore all things…But I tell you that Elijah has come and they did to him whatever they pleased, as is written of him' (Mark 9:12-13) reflects Mark's description of John the Baptist as a salvific forerunner to Jesus and his description of the Baptist's execution by Herod. Furthermore, for a further discussion of the various pericopae in Mark's gospel where John the Baptist is possibly being referred to as Elijah see Robert L. Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet: A Sociohistorical Study* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2006), 51-5.

within Jesus' wider salvific mission.[359] John and Jesus work in continuity as the Baptist is depicted as introducing the act of repentance through his baptism and after John's arrest, Jesus in turn calls for immediate repentance and belief on account of the coming Kingdom of God (cf. Mark 1:14-15). Observing this, R.L. Webb notes that John the Baptist is a 'forerunner and ally' to Jesus,[360] and M.E. Boring similarly remarks that he is a 'forerunner and model for Jesus'.[361] Conversely, the fourth evangelist presents John being questioned by the Jewish authorities and declaring that he is not the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the Prophet (John 1:19c-21):

- Who are you? He confessed, and did not deny, but confessed, 'I am not the Christ.'
- And they asked him, 'What then? Are you Elijah?' He said, 'I am not.'
- 'Are you the Prophet?' And he answered, 'No.'

The author of the fourth gospel firstly depicts John stating that he is not the Christ and as such holds not salvific significance and second and thirdly he presents John stating that he is not Elijah or the Prophet and as such has no prophetic or eschatological status. Furthermore, by offering the clarification that John 'confessed' (ὡμολόγησεν), the fourth evangelist conveys that John is testifying that there is another who holds full salvific significance. This is recognised by R.F. Collins, who writes, 'the author of the Fourth Gospel effectively uses comparison and contrast to develop the literary profile of John as a witness'[362] and Williams, who notes that the Baptist's particular denial and confession that he was 'not the Messiah' (John 1:20) 'indicates that there is another figure to whom this title belongs, but who, at this point, remains in the shadows of the narrative.'[363] In regard to this material it may be proposed that John draws on the Markan description of John the Baptist, but significantly alters it by inverting the characteristics and offering his own portrayal of John. As noted before, this proposed method of source use and adaptation appears to parallel with the techniques employed by the fourth evangelist's Greek and Early Christian contemporaries.

John 1:23 and Mark 1:2-3

In the second gospel, the narrator identifies John the Baptist through a scriptural citation attributed to Isaiah. However, in the fourth gospel, John is presented, in continued dialogue with the Jewish authorities, identifying himself through a scriptural citation attributed to Isaiah.

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[359] For a thorough discussion of this theme see John H. Hughes, "John the Baptist: the Forerunner of God Himself," *Novum Testam.* 3 (1972): 191-218.

[360] Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet: A Sociohistorical Study*, 55.

[361] M. Eugene Boring, *Mark: A Commentary* (Atlanta; Richmond, VA: John Knox, 2006), 41.

[362] Raymond F. Collins, "'Who are you?' Comparison/Contrast and Fourth Gospel Characterisation," in *Character and Characterisation in the Gospel of John*, ed. Christopher W. Skinner., LNTS 461 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013), 79.

[363] Williams, "John (the Baptist): The witness on the Threshold," 52.

Mark 1:2-3	John 1:23
Καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ Ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου. **Φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ** Ἑτοιμάσατε **τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου,** *εὐθείας* ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ.	ἔφη Ἐγὼ **φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ** *Εὐθύνατε* **τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου**, καθὼς εἶπεν Ἡσαίας ὁ προφήτης
As has been written in Isaiah the Prophet 'Behold, I send my messenger before your face who will prepare your way.' The **voice crying out in the wilderness** 'prepare **the way of the Lord** *make straight* the paths of him.'	He was saying, 'I am a **voice crying out in the wilderness**, *make straight* **the way of the Lord** as Isaiah the Prophet said.'

Mark appears to present a composite citation, with the first half reflecting a combination of material from LXX Exodus 23:30a and MT Malachi 3:1 and the second half reflecting material from LXX Isaiah 40:3.[364] In the citation, the second evangelist emphasises John the Baptist's preparatory role by twice mentioning that he will prepare the way, and also appears to depict him as the voice crying in the wilderness. Additionally, the messenger in Malachi 3:1 operates within an eschatological context and is identified as a forerunner and a preparatory figure for the coming of the Lord in the end days.[365] Therefore, Mark seems to be depicting John the Baptist as a preparatory figure which fits in with his presentation of the Baptist as a preparatory figure of salvific significance. Conversely, John presents only the citation which reflects the material in Isaiah 40:3 and then only presents half of this citation. By doing so he avoids the notion of John having a preparatory role. In combination with this, the fourth evangelist depicts John identifying himself as the 'voice' who makes straight the way for the Lord. Thus, the evangelist emphasises John's role as a witness to Jesus, and downplays his role as a preparatory figure as he has previously downplayed John's preparatory salvific role. This is observed by M.J.J. Menken who writes 'it is John the Baptist who simply "makes straight the way of the Lord", by his testimony on behalf of Jesus.'[366] In this instance it may be proposed that the fourth evangelist draws on Mark's scriptural citation attributed to Isaiah, but made an alteration by presenting John identifying himself as the voice in the wilderness rather than the narrator identifying John the Baptist as the voice in the Markan account, and made small omissions by removing the notion of John being a preparer. This suggested method of source use and adaptation seems to firstly align

[364] The majority of Markan commentators agree that Mk 1.2 is a combination of LXX Exodus 23.30a, MT Malachi 3.1, and LXX Isaiah 40.3. See, Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary* (Augsburg: Fortress Press, 2007), 135-136. Hooker, *The Gospel of Mark*, 35. Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indexes* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1981), 53. William L. Lane, *The Gospel of Mark* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 45.

[365] For further discussion of Mark's use of Malachi 3:1 see Josef Ernst, *Johannes der Täufer: Interpretation - Geschichte – Wirkungsgeschichte* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1989), 10-12.

[366] Maarten J . Menken, "The Quotation from Isaiah 40,3 in John 1,23," *Bib* 66 (1985): 199. For further discussion of this point see also Catrin H. Williams, "Isaiah in John's Gospel," in *Isaiah in the New Testament: The New Testament and Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Steve Moysie and Marteen J J. Menken (London: T&T Clark, 2015), 102-4.

with Josephus and the author of the Gospel of Peter's method of transferring the actions of a character/s to other character/s. Secondly, it appears to parallel with Josephus' method of omitting small sections of material in order to present more appealing narrative and to present his characters in his own particular way. Moreover, the Isaiah citation in Mark is presented before the identification of John the Baptist as Elijah, while the Isaiah citation in John is presented after the identification of John as not being Elijah. The fourth evangelist seems to slightly change the order of this material within the same temporal setting. This proposed method of source use and adaptation seems to align with Plutarch's practice of changing the order in which three generals, including Nicias, offered their thoughts concerning the conquest of Sicily.

John 1:27 and Mark 1:7

Both Mark and John depict John (the Baptist's) inferior status as compared to Jesus' superior status. In notably similar language, both evangelists include a saying concerning the untying of a sandal, in the fourth gospel this is a continuation of John's response to the Jewish authorities regarding his identity:

Mark 1:7	John 1:27
Ἔρχεται **ὁ** ἰσχυρότερός μου **ὀπίσω μου**, **οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ** ἱκανὸς κύψας λῦσαι **τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν** ὑποδημάτων **αὐτοῦ**	**ὁ ὀπίσω μου** ἐρχόμενος, **οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ** ἐγὼ ἄξιος ἵνα λύσω **αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ** ὑποδήματος.
He comes who is mightier than me **after me**, **of whom I am not** worthy having stooped down to untie **the strap of his** sandals.	The one coming **after me**, **of who I am not** worthy that I should untie **the strap of his** sandal.

In relation to this saying, it might be suggested that the fourth evangelist draws closely from his source text. This possibility is suggested by Barrett, who asserts 'John's words are probably dependent on Mark's.'[367] Additionally, there are also some slight differences between Mark and John's sayings, and in this regard Barrett further notes '[John] substitutes the more appropriate ἄξιος for Mark's ἱκανὸς [and] drops the vivid but unnecessary κύψας'.[368] This proposed method of source use and adaptation seems to align with the technique employed by Plutarch and the author of the Gospel of Peter where they closely follow their source text by copying directly, but also by slightly paraphrasing their source, Josephus' work also evidences this nature of paraphrasing. The act of paraphrase is also present as a method of source use in Theon's pedagogical handbook. The examples from Plutarch's *Life of Nicias* and Gospel of Peter are offered below for reference:

[367] Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 175. R. Kieffer has observed further similar verbal agreements between in Mark and John: John 5:8 and Mark 2:9; John 18:39 and Mark 15:9; John 12:3 and Mark 14:3; John 6:7 and Mark 6:37; John 18:18 and Mark 14:58; John 12:5 and Mark 14:5. René Kieffer, "Convergences dans la Structure et dans le details," in *John and the Synoptics*, ed. Adelbert Denaux (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1991), 118-21.

[368] Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 175.

History of the Peloponnesian War 6.49.1-2	Life of Nicias 14.3
Λάμαχος δὲ **ἄντικρυς** ἔφη χρῆναι **πλεῖν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας** καὶ πρὸς τῇ πόλει ὡς τάχιστα τὴν **μάχην** ποιεῖσθαι. (Thucydides, *P. W.* 6.49.1-2 [Smith, LCL]).	ὁ δέ, Λαμάχου μὲν **ἄντικρυς** ἀξιοῦντος **πλεῖν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας** καὶ **μάχην** ἔγγιστα τῆς πόλεως τιθέναι. (Plutarch, *Nic.* 14.3 [Perrin, LCL]).
Lamachus maintained that they ought to **sail direct to Syracuse** and as soon as possible make the fight near the city. (Thucydides, *P. W.* 6.49.1-2 [Smith, LCL]).	While Lamachus urged that they **sail direct to Syracuse** and give battle close to the city. (Plutarch, *Nic.* 14.3 [Perrin, LCL]).

Mark 16:3	Gospel of Peter 12:54
καὶ ἔλεγον πρὸς ἑαυτάς. **τίς ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν τὸν λίθον** ἐκ **τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου**; καὶ ἀναβλέψασαι θεωροῦσιν ὅτι ἀποκεκύλισται **ὁ λίθος**. **ἦν γὰρ μέγας** σφόδρα.	.... **καὶ ἔλεγον**…**τίς** δὲ **ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν λίθον** τὸν τεθέντα ἐπὶ **τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου**, ἵνα εἰσελθοῦσαι παρακαθεσθῶμεν αὐτῷ καὶ ποιήσωμεν τὰ ὀφιλόμενα; **μέγας γὰρ ἦν ὁ λίθος**…
And they were saying among themselves '**who will roll away for us the stone** from the door of the tomb?' And having looked up they see that **the stone** has been rolled away, for it **was great**.	…**And they were saying**… 'But **who will roll away for us** also **the stone** that has been placed at the door of the tomb that when we have gone in we might sit beside him and do the things that are necessary?' For **the stone was great**…

Moreover, alongside this saying both Mark and John present John (the Baptist) stating that he baptises with water (Mark 1:8a // John 1:26a). Additionally, both evangelists balance John's statement with a further remark concerning Jesus. The second evangelist portrays the Baptist stating 'but he will baptise with the Holy Spirit (Mark 1:8b. cf. John 1:33), while the fourth evangelist presents John in response to the Jewish authorities stating 'but among you stands one you do not know' (John 1:26a). The author of the fourth gospel again appears to significantly alter the words of John, his secondary character, in a manner comparable with the techniques employed by his Greek and Early Christian literary contemporaries.

John 1:29, 31 and Mark 1:9

The second and the fourth evangelists both at this point introduce Jesus as an active figure into their narratives. They introduce Jesus in relation to his coming to John (the Baptist) who was positioned in the vicinity of the River Jordan, and both authors depict Jesus' arrival as evoking a response from John (the Baptist) (Mark 1:9 // John 1:29a. cf. John 1:28). In Mark's gospel, John the Baptist responds to Jesus by baptising him (Mark 1:9b), whilst in John's gospel, John's responds to Jesus by testifying to his identity as the 'lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world.' (John 1:29b). Furthermore, a few verses later, the fourth evangelist presents John speaking about his act of baptism, but emphasising that it is an act of witness: 'I did not know him but so that he might be revealed to Israel I came baptising with water.' (John 1:31). In relation to this material it may be suggested that John draws on Mark's notion of John's act of baptism and his response to Jesus, but notably alters

John's actions and the aim of his baptism. He reappropriates the function of John's baptism by explaining and demonstrating that it is an act of testimony. In Mark's gospel, John baptises for the forgiveness of sins, while in John's gospel, John testifies concerning Jesus who takes away the sin of the world. This proposed method of source use and adaptation again parallels with the technique of significantly altering the actions of a secondary character as evidenced in the works of the fourth evangelist's literary contemporaries. The inclusion of the unparalleled phrase 'the lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world' also aligns with the method of adding short phrases to source material. This is evidenced, for example, in the works of Josephus where the historian adds a phrase relating to one of his protagonists: 'but many escaped and Joined Mattathias, whom they appointed their leader' (Josephus, *Ant* 12.276 [Marcus, LCL]), and it is evidenced in the Gospel of Peter where the evangelist adds a phrase relating to Jesus: 'he was silent as having no pain' (Gos. Pet 4:10). The author of the Gospel of Peter also adds short phrases concerning the Jews and the women who attend the tomb.

John 1:32, 34 and Mark 1:10-11

Mark and John both utilise material relating to the events following Jesus' baptism. Both mention the decent of the spirit like a dove and Jesus' identification as the Son of God. In the second gospel, Mark depicts the narrator relaying that Jesus saw the spirit like a dove come from heaven and descend into him (Mark 1:10); however, in John's gospel, the fourth evangelist depicts John testifying that he saw the spirit like a dove descend from heaven and remain on Jesus (John 1:32). In this instance it might be proposed that John drew on Mark's notion of the decent of the spirit, but made a small alteration which notably changes the meaning of the event. In relation to Mark's account, J.R. Edwards observes that the act of the spirit entering into Jesus implies that he was at that moment 'empowered' with God's authority.[369] Conversely, in regard to John's account, the spirit and God's authority appears to have permanently been on Jesus. In this respect, G. Johnson proposes that John received a vision from God concerning Jesus' unique identity as the embodiment of God's authority from the beginning.[370] This proposed method of source use and alteration seems to parallel with the practice of making small alterations to the source material which results in a significant change to the meaning of the material. This is evidenced in the work of Josephus where the source text refers to Mattathias talking about the Jewish law and where Josephus in turn refers to Mattathias talking about the country's laws. Additionally, it is seen in the Gospel of Peter where the source text presents Jesus crying out 'my God' and where the author in turn portrays Jesus crying out 'my Power', and also where the source text has 'King of the Jews' as the

[369] James R. Edwards, "The Baptism of Jesus according to the Gospel of Mark," *JETS* 34 (1991): 46-9. James R. Edwards, "The Authority of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark," *JETS* 37 (1994):232-33.

[370] George Johnston, *The Spirit-Paraclete in the Gospel of John*., SNTSMS 12 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 18.

title on the cross and where the author in turn has 'King of Israel' as the title on the cross (Gos. Pet. 4:11; 5:9)

Moreover, in Mark's gospel, the evangelist depicts a voice from heaven (God) identifying Jesus as the Son of God (Mark 1:11), while in John's gospel, the evangelist presents John testifying to Jesus' identity as the Son of God (John 1:34).[371] In regard to this material it might be proposed that John drew on Mark's identification of Jesus as the Son of God but changed the individual doing the identifying. This proposed method of source use and adaptation again aligns with the technique of transferring the actions of a character/s onto another character/s as evidenced in the works of the fourth evangelist's Jewish and Early Christian contemporaries. This is also the case with the aforementioned material where in Mark's gospel Jesus sees the spirit descend, while in John's gospel, John sees the spirit descend. In both cases John's role as a witness is brought to the fore.

Mark 1:12-13

In Mark's gospel Jesus' baptism is followed by a description of his time in the wilderness. During this time he is driven out into the wilderness by the spirit, tested by Satan, and ministered to by angels while being surrounded by wild animals (Mark 1:12-13). These events depicted by Mark place Jesus in a subordinate position to God and present him as being passive in nature. For example, he is controlled by God's spirt, he is tested by Satan to ascertain his loyalty to God,[372] and he is aided by God's angels. In relation to this material it might be suggested that John has left it out of his gospel narrative as it does not fit with his presentation of Jesus as the embodiment of God. This method of source adaptation appears to align with the technique of omitting a medium sized section of narrative from a source narrative when the source material does not suit the author's authorial aims. This technique is firstly evidenced in the work of Tacitus where he omits sections of Claudius' speech in order to make it more suitable for his historical genre, and secondly in the work of Josephus where he removes material relating to the strained relations between the Jewish people and the Philistines in order to make his work more appealing to a gentile audience. It also seems to reflect Quintilian's method of omission as set out within his practice of literary imitation.

[371] For a further discussion of the concept of Son of God in Mark's gospel see Michael Peppard, *The Son of God in the Roman World: Divine Sonship and its Social and Political Context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 86-131.

[372] Jeffery B. Gibson, *The Temptations of Jesus in Early Christianity*., JSNTSup 112 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 70-1. Gibson proposes that Jesus was commissioned by God at his baptism and was in turn tested by Satan, the one who opposed God and sought to test those close to him, to ascertain Jesus' loyalty to his commission.

Summary of Findings

There are a number of similarities and differences between the Markan and Johannine material concerning John (the Baptist). Dodd proposes that these similarities and differences reflect John's use of independent tradition or his adaptation of independent tradition. However, these similarities and differences may also represent the fourth evangelist's use of and deliberate adaptation of Markan material as proposed by Goulder. In the foregoing comparison of Mark and John it has been proposed that the fourth evangelist seems to use and adapt Mark in ways comparable to the manner in which his literary contemporaries worked with source material. In methods similar to those set out by Quintilian and those employed by utilised by Plutarch, Tacitus, Josephus, and the author of the Gospel of Peter, the fourth evangelist appears to thoroughly adapt his source material. He does not copy Mark verbatim, but rather intentionally rewrites the contents of Mark's passage; however, in one example he does share some verbal similarities with Mark and appears to use Mark in a way comparable to the manner in which Plutarch and the author of the Gospel of Peter used their source texts. Additionally, he employs a combination of techniques within this individual pericope: the transferral of the actions of one character/s to another character/s, the significant alteration of a secondary character's portrayal, the omission of small and medium sized sections of material, the addition of a short phrase, and one word alterations with notable change to the meaning of the surrounding text. Therefore, John seems to follow ancient compositional practice by using and freely adapting Markan material.

ii. Explanatory Analysis

Within this section the proposed adaptations made by the fourth evangelist to his Markan source shall be explored in light of the author's wider literary aims in order to account for John's likely adaptation of his source material.

John as a witness to Jesus

This part of the gospel opens with what can almost be regarded as a title to the forthcoming material as it reads 'And this is the testimony of John' (John 1:19). John's role as a witness sent by God to testify concerning Jesus is made explicit in the prologue. In the prologue, the fourth evangelist makes clear that John was 'sent from God' (John 1:6) and that he 'was not light, but came to bear witness about the light' (John 1:8). In the comparative analysis it has been proposed that the fourth evangelist adapts the Markan material in ways comparable to the methods utilised by his literary contemporaries. He seems to adapt the material in this section so as to fit with and expand upon the material in the prologue which introduces John's role as a witness. For example, rather than presenting the Baptist as Elijah (primary salvific figure) (Mark 1:4-6), the author of the fourth gospel presents John declaring that he

is not the Christ, Elijah, nor the Prophet (no salvific significance) (John 1:20-22).[373] Additionally, rather than presenting the Baptist as the voice crying out in the wilderness who prepares and makes straight the way of the Lord (preparatory salvific figure) (Mark 1:2-4), the fourth evangelist portrays John declaring that he is the voice crying out in the wilderness who makes straight the way of the Lord (simply a witness, no salvific significance) (John 1:23). This adapted material corresponds closely with the prologue's depiction of John who was not the light but was the witness to the light. This is observed by Williams, who writes, 'there is a clear continuity as well as concretized elaboration between John's initial words in this scene and the prologue's description of him as "man sent from God" (1:6) who was not the light but came to bear witness about the light (1:7-8).'[374] Moreover, rather than portraying the Baptist baptising Jesus (Mark 1:9), the author of the fourth gospel presents John testifying to Jesus' identity as the Lamb of God (John 1:29). Additionally, rather than Jesus seeing the spirit descend into him and God declaring him to be his Son (Mark 1:10-11), the fourth evangelist depicts John receiving a vision from God in which he sees the spirit descend and remain on Jesus which in turn allows him to testify to Jesus' identity as the Son of God (John 1:32, 34). Again, this adapted material fits closely with and expands upon the prologue's description of John as being sent by God to act as a witness to the light (the complete picture is fulfilled in the next section).

'The Jews'

In this section, οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι are referred to for the first time, and οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι is a phrase which is repeated around seventy times throughout the gospel. On half these occasions the term seems to be used in a negative sense.[375] However, the meaning of

[373] Commentators continually point out the possibility that the author of the fourth gospel may have portrayed John in this subordinate manner on historical grounds. He might have done so in order that he might counteract the high claims that were being made about him by some of his followers. For example, in the later work Recognitions (ca. 320-380), ascribed to Clement, the author relates that 'one of the disciples of John asserted that John was the Christ, and not Jesus, inasmuch as Jesus Himself declared that John was greater than all men and all prophets' (*Clementine Recognitions* 1.60). Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 172-173. Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John*, 288. Lincoln, *The Gospel according to St John*, 111. E.W. Klink on the other hand considers the portrayal of John on a literary basis and in light of his role as a witness, thus he writes 'this tautological introduction (Jn 1.20-21) is not…a message directed at the Baptist's disciples who claimed him as the Messiah, but as a necessary use of repetition to express the form of a confession.' Edward W. Klink, *John: Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2016), 128.

[374] Catrin H. Williams, "The Voice in the Wilderness and the Ways of the Lord: A Scriptural Frame for John's Witness to Jesus," in *The Opening of John's Narrative: Historical, Literary, and Theological Readings from the Colloquium Ioanneum 2015 in Ephesus*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Jörg Frey., WUNT I/385 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 39.

[375] Reimund Bieringer, Frederique Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, and Didier Pollefeyt, "Wrestling with Johannine Anti-Judaism: A Hermeneutical Framework for the Analysis of Current Debate," in *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*, ed. Reimund Bieringer, Frederique Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, and Didier Pollefeyt (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 17.

the term οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι is unclear.[376] In his significantly influential work, J.L. Martyn posits that the term οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι refers in a broad sense to all the Jewish people. For example, taking the account of the healing of the man born blind and the mention of Christ confessors being excluded from the synagogue by the Jews in John 9:22, Martyn proposes that the story can be read on two levels: synagogue expulsion occurred during Jesus' life time and an event experienced by the Johannine Church. Thus, on account of this latter experience, Martyn suggests that the fourth evangelist is responding negatively to all Jewish people through his use of the term οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι.[377]

The term οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι has also been considered to refer to a smaller and more specific group of Jewish people. In this regard, M. Lowe argues that the term οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι should be understood as referring to 'Judeans' who inhabit the particular geographical region of Judea. He posits that Jesus is presented by the evangelist in confrontations with the Judeans and the Judean authorities.[378] U.C. von Wahlde proposes that the term οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ought to be understood as referring to the Jewish authorities.[379] By analysing three of the most recognised instances where scholars suggest that the hostile actions of 'the Jews' refer to the actions of the common people: John 6:41, 52; 7:15, 35; 10:31, 33, von Wahlde concludes that 'these texts have not provided any real evidence for seeing the Jews there as common people.' Thus, he argues that John intends the hostility of 'the Jews' to refer to the hostility of the Jewish authorities and not to the Jewish nation made up of authorities and common people.[380]

A. Reinhartz argues that the 'Fourth Evangelist identifies the Jews as a historical people with the negative pole of his dualistic rhetoric'.[381] She proposes that the noun

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[376] The following discussion is not intended to be an extensive discussion of the multiple and various proposals concerning the term οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. For an extensive discussion see Bieringer, Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, and Pollefeyt, "Wrestling with Johannine Anti-Judaism: A Hermeneutical Framework for the Analysis of Current Debate," 3-44. Reimund Bieringer, "Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel Fifteen Years after the Leuven Colloquium," in *John and Judaism: A Contested Relationship in Context*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Paul N. Anderson (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 243-64.

[377] J. Louis Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel* (Atlanta; Richmond, VA: John Knox, 2003), 40-9. Conversely, A. Reinhartz argues that the Johannine Christians has voluntarily removed themselves from the synagogue rather than being expelled. Adele Reinhartz, "Reading History in the Fourth Gospel," in *What we Have Heard from the Beginning: The Past, Present, and Future of Johannine Studies*, ed. Tom Thatcher (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007), 193.

[378] Malcolm Lowe, "Who were the IOYΔAIOI?," *Novum Testam.* 18 (1976): 101-31. Conversely, S. Mason argues that οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι should be interpreted as 'Judeans' in an ethnic rather than geographical sense. Steve Mason, "Jews, Judeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History," *JSJ* 38 (2007): 457-512.

[379] C. Bennema somewhat similarly posits that 'the Jews' refer to a group of 'Torah and Temple Loyalists' whose leaders are the Jewish authorities. Cornelius Bennema, "The Identity and the Composition of OI IOYΔAIOI in the Gospel of John," *TynBul* 60 (2009): 239-63.

[380] Urban C. von Wahlde, "The Johannine 'Jews': A Critical Survey," *NTS* 28 (1982): 33-46.

[381] Adele Reinhartz, "'Jews' and Jews in the Fourth Gospel," in *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*, ed. Reimund Bieringer, Frederique Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, and Didier Pollefeyt (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 342.

Ἰουδαῖοι refers to a 'rhetorical and theological category.'[382] She explains that on a literary and symbolic level, 'the Jews' in the fourth gospel function as a 'corporate villain.'[383] 'The Jews' in John's gospel serve as a negative group who are unreceptive and hostile toward Jesus as those associated with him, and ultimately fail to believe in Jesus.[384]

In the comparative analysis it has been suggested that the fourth evangelist adapts the Markan material in ways comparable to the methods employed by his literary contemporaries. Thus, following Reinhartz's proposal it is possible to see that the author of the fourth gospel appears to adapt the material in this section so as to cast 'the Jews' in a negative light, and to present them as acting in ways which fit with their negative actions throughout the gospel. The author of the fourth gospel seems to change the Markan material, as instead of presenting individuals coming to John the Baptist on the basis of their understanding of his role (Mark 1:5), the fourth evangelist portrays the Jewish authorities (Pharisees) seeking John on the basis that they do not understand his role (John 1:19-22). The author of the fourth gospel depicts the Jewish authorities failing to appreciate who John is and hostilely asking John 'who are you?' (John 1:19). This notably aligns with the negative presentation of Jewish authorities (Pharisees) later in the gospel where they similarly fail to appreciate who Jesus is and hostilely ask 'who are you?' (John 8:13). The Jewish authorities fail both to understand the identity of the one who witnesses to Jesus and the identity of Jesus himself. Within this material, the author of the fourth gospel seems to adapt the Markan material in order to further present 'the Jews' failure to know Jesus. He does this as rather than portraying John the Baptist declaring that he baptises with water but Jesus baptises with the Holy Spirit (Mark 1:8), the author of the fourth gospel presents John declaring to 'the Jews' that he baptises with water, but they do not know the one coming who will baptise with the Holy Spirit (John 1:26. cf. John 1:33). This corresponds with the description of 'the world' in the prologue where the fourth evangelist states that Jesus was in the world but the world did not know him (John 1:10).[385]

In the prologue to the fourth gospel, the fourth evangelist introduces a group who will feature in the first half of the gospel and who are characterised as a group who fail to accept or believe in Jesus (John 1:10-12). In John 1:19-22, the author of the

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[382] Adele Reinhartz, *Cast out of the Covenant: Jews and Anti-Judaism in the Gospel of John* (Lanham: Lexington Books; Fortress Academic: 2018), 103.

[383] Adele Reinhartz, "The Jews of the Fourth Gospel," in *The Oxford Handbook of Johannine Studies*, ed. Judith M. Lieu and Martinus C. de Boer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 126.

[384] Bultmann was one of the first to recognise the literary function of 'the Jews' in the fourth gospel. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 86-87. More recently Culpepper explores the function of 'the Jews' within John's gospel from a literary perspective. R. Alan Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 125-32.

[385] On the synonymity of 'the world' and 'the Jews' in the fourth gospel see Bennema, *Encountering Jesus*, 75. Kierspel, *The Jews and the World in the Fourth Gospel*. Judith M. Lieu, "Anti-Judaism in the Fourth Gospel: Explanation and Hermeneutics," in *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*, ed. Reimund Bieringer, Frederique Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, and Didier Pollefeyt (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 17-19.

fourth gospel makes clear that this group are 'the Jews' and that they conduct themselves in a hostile manner. In regard to the hostile characterisation of 'the Jews', Culpepper observes that the hostility of the Jews 'escalates' throughout the first half of the gospel.[386] His description of this is laid out below:

Episode one: John 1:19-22
- 'The Jews' question John (John 1:19, 24).

Episode two: John 2:12-3.21
- 'The Jews' question Jesus' temple action (John 2:18-20).
- Nicodemus cannot understand Jesus (John 3:12).

Episode three: John 3:22-36
- 'The Jews' debate with Jesus' disciples about cleansing (John 3:25).

Episode four: John 4:1-54
- There is a general inability of 'the Jews; to understand Jesus.

Episode five: John 5:1-47
- 'The Jews' seek to kill Jesus as they believe his has committed blasphemy by healing on the Sabbath (John 5:16, 18).

Episode six: John 6.1-71
- 'The Jews' mummer and fight amongst themselves concerning Jesus' self-identification as the bread of life (John 6:41, 48, 51-52).

Episode seven: John 7:1-8:51
- 'The Jews' seek to kill Jesus throughout these passages (John 7:1ff).
- 'The Jews' pick up stones to throw at Jesus (John 8:59).

Episode eight: John 9:1-10:42
- 'The Jews' do not believe that the boy had previously been blind (John 9:18).
- Those who could verify the former blindness of the boy were afraid of 'the Jews' (John 9:22).
- 'The Jews' pick up more stones to throw at Jesus (John 10:31, 33).

Episode nine: John 11:1-54
- 'The Jews' who witness Jesus' raising of Lazarus report him to the Pharisees who in turn conspire against him (John 11:46-47).

Episode ten: John 11:55-12:50
- The Pharisees seek to arrest Jesus (John 11:57).

The adaptation of the Markan material by the fourth evangelist to emphasise 'the Jews'' hostility corresponds with his intention to present 'the Jews' as a hostile group whose hostility increases as the narrative develops.

Jesus in John's Gospel

Within the section, the fourth evangelist expands upon his elevated christological perspective, developing Jesus' unique identity as the embodiment and revealer of God as set out in the prologue. In the comparative analysis it was proposed that the

[386] R. Alan Culpepper, "The Gospel of John and the Jews," *RevExp* 84 (1987): 276-79.

author of the fourth gospel adapts the Markan material in ways comparable to the methods utilised by his literary contemporaries. He seems to adapt the Markan material in order that he might paint his own distinctive picture of Jesus. For example, rather than depicting John the Baptist baptising Jesus (Mark 1:9), the author of the fourth gospel presents John witnessing to Jesus' identity as 'the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world' (John 1:29). This metaphorical phrase uttered by John is rich with meaning and develops Jesus' role as the embodiment and revealer of God as introduced in the prologue. The imagery of lambs is prevalent in the Hebrew bible and Johannine scholarship is unanimous in its understanding that the lamb metaphor has been drawn by the fourth evangelist from the Hebrew bible. However, there remains uncertainty as to which lamb the author of John's gospel intends to allude. For example, R. Zimmermann contends that the 'lamb' in the fourth gospel is a combination of facets from the suffering servant (Isa 53:7), the Tamid sacrifice (Exod 29:38 and Num 28:3), the Passover lamb, and the lamb of Aqedah (Gen 22).[387] Yet, J.T. Nielsen argues that the 'lamb' in John's gospel is a blend of features from the suffering servant and the Passover lamb.[388] While Barrett posits that the 'lamb' refers primarily to the Passover lamb.[389] Barrett's proposal is perhaps the most attractive on account of the apparent Passover allusions attributed to Jesus and associated with his death within the gospel.[390] For example, the fourth evangelist situates Jesus' death on the day of preparations when the lambs were being slain (John 19:14, 31, 42) and he describes Jesus' bones as remaining unbroken like the bones of the Passover lambs (John 19:32-33 and Exod 12:46; Num 9:12). Additionally, he associates Jesus' death with Passover rituals as the sponge of sour wine offered to Jesus on a hyssop is reminiscent of the hyssop branch used to apply the blood to the door posts (John 19:29 and Exod 12:22).[391] Moreover, Barratt's proposal is also attractive as the Passover lamb's death is sacrificial but does not act as substitutionary atonement (e.g. the Suffering Servant, the Tamid sacrifice, and the lamb of Aqedah).[392] This is important as the fourth evangelist does not need to

[387] Reuben Zimmermann, "Jesus – the Lamb of God (John 1:29 and 1:36)," in *The Opening of John's Narrative: Historical, Literary, and Theological Readings from the Colloquium Ioanneum 2015 in Ephesus*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Jörg Frey., WUNT I/385 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 80-90.

[388] Jesper T. Nielsen, "The Lamb of God: The Cognitive Structure of the Johannine Metaphor," in *Imagery in the Gospel of John: Terms, Forms, Themes, and Theology of Johannine Figurative Language*, ed. Jörg Frey, Jan G. van der Watt, and Reuben Zimmermann., WUNT I/200 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 217-58.

[389] Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 176.

[390] J.K. Howard suggests 'that here in the declaratory words of John the Baptist the writer of the gospel is setting the scene for the future development of Paschal ideas.' James K. Howard, "Passover and the Eucharist in the Fourth Gospel," *SJT* 20 (1967): 332.

[391] D. Lee observes that through presenting Jesus at the beginning and the end of the gospel narrative, the fourth evangelist forms an *inclusio*. Dorothy Lee, "Paschal Imagery in the Gospel of John," *Pacifica* 24 (2011): 19.

[392] The atoning function of these lamb is discussed by Zimmermann, "Jesus – the Lamb of God (John 1:29 and 1:36),"84-6, 89-90. For a thorough description of various 'lambs' in the Hebrew bible See also Christopher W. Skinner, "Another Look at the "Lamb of God"," *BibSac* 161 (2004): 89-104.

import allusions of substitutionary atonement from the Hebrew bible as he has his own concept of atonement. In the fourth gospel, the author associates sin with unbelief. He presents Jesus explaining to his disciples that people have sinned because 'they did not believe in me' (John 16:9). Therefore, in the fourth gospel, Jesus' presence in the world as the embodiment of God allows for God to be revealed and in turn enables the world to believe rather than sin. However, it is Jesus' death on the cross which is the ultimate revelation of God: 'when you have lifted me up on the cross you will see that I am he' (John 8:28a). Thus, Jesus' sacrificial death offers the world an unhindered opportunity to see and believe in God and thus, as John declares, through his death as a sacrificial lamb, Jesus removes the sin of the world.

Furthermore, the fourth evangelist appears to further adapt the Markan material in order to convey his own unique christology. He does this as instead of presenting the spirit descending into Jesus (Mark 1:10), the author of the fourth gospel presents John receiving a vision of the spirit not only descending on Jesus but also remaining on him (John 1:32). This is in keeping with the fourth evangelist's depiction of Jesus in the prologue where he in the beginning with God and is God (John 1:1). The author of the fourth gospel makes clear, as Goulder notes, that the spirit 'was permanently *on* Jesus, there was no question of it having entered him'.[393] Jesus possessed God's spirit from the beginning as from the beginning he was the embodiment of God's nature. In a similar vein, the author of the fourth gospel appears to remove the Markan idea that Jesus was tested and in turn was subordinate to God. He likely does this as such a depiction is wholly incongruous with the definitive first line of the Johannine prologue. Additionally, the fourth evangelist likely removes the notion of Jesus' encounter with Satan as unlike in Mark's gospel where Jesus is depicted as being an exorcist and encountering evil spirits (Mark 1:21-28; 5:1-20; 9:14-29), Jesus in the fourth gospel is not portrayed as an exorcist[394] and rather is depicted in his unique role as wholly and finally defeating Satan on the cross (John 12:32-33).[395]

Summary of Findings

The fourth evangelist appears to adapt his Markan source material in ways comparable to the methods laid out by Quintilian and utilised by his literary contemporaries. Gardner-Smith argues that there seems to be no 'dogmatic interest' behind John's possible adaptations of the Markan material and he posits that it is therefore more likely that the fourth evangelist draws on independent traditions than that he adapted Markan material. However, the foregoing discussion has demonstrated that the proposed adaptations by the fourth evangelist can be accounted for in light of his wider literary aims. The author of John's gospel appears to have

[393] Goulder, "John 1,1-2,12 and the Synoptics," 214.

[394] See also Eric Plummer, "The Absence of Exorcisms in the Fourth Gospel," *Bib* 78 (1997): 350-68.

[395] For further discussion of this see Judith L. Kovacs, "'Now Shall the Ruler of this World be Driven Out' Jesus' Death as Cosmic Battle in John 12:20-36," *JBL* 114 (1995): 227-47.

adapted the Markan material so as to develop his distinctive portrayal of Jesus and expand upon his own individual presentation of John (the Witness). He also seems to have adapted the Markan material so as to present 'the Jews' negativity so as to introduce a wider theme.

III. The Disciples: John 1:35-51

The fourth gospel introduces Jesus' first four disciples in a section of material which follows on from the material concerning John the Witness. The material regarding Jesus' initial disciples shares some points of contact with the similarly positioned material in Mark's gospel. However, within this material, the fourth evangelist seems to have a good deal of his own different material. In light of these notable differences concerning Jesus' original disciples, Gardner-Smith states 'the whole passage describing the call of the disciples is irreconcilable with the synoptic accounts' and in line with his overall approach to the question of the relationship between John and the Synoptics posits that it is more likely that the author of the fourth gospel was 'acquainted with oral traditions.'[396]

Interestingly, Barrett, who strongly argues for John's use of Mark, similarly suggests that 'it is impossible to harmonise the Johannine and Synoptic narratives.'[397] In regard to this pericope, he postulates that John likely knew Mark's pericope on account of his apparent use of the second gospel elsewhere; however, Barrett seems to suggest that John employed his own independent material for his story concerning Jesus' first disciples.[398] Strikingly, Barrett here seems to suppose that it is more likely that the fourth evangelist draws on independent material rather than thoroughly adapting the Markan material. This is striking as elsewhere in his commentary Barrett argues for John's deliberate adaptation of Markan material.[399]

Conversely, Lincoln argues for John's conscious adaptation of the Markan material. He notes that 'John's account is distinctive in just about every respect', yet he argues that John seems to know the synoptic material concerning Jesus' first four disciples, but that he has his 'own purpose in retelling the story in quite a different way.'[400] Thus, the following analysis seeks to suggest that John used the Markan material concerning Jesus' first four disciples. This will be achieved by assessing the use and deliberate adaptation of source material in light of ancient literary compositional practices, particularly in regard to the compositional methods utilised by the fourth evangelist's literary contemporaries.

[396] Gardner-Smith, *Saint John and the Synoptic Gospels*, 7.
[397] Barrett, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 179.
[398] Barrett, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 179.
[399] Barrett, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 45-54.
[400] Lincoln, *The Gospel according to St John*, 123.

i. Comparative Analysis

John 1:35-39 and Mark 1:16-18

Both Mark and John commence their material regarding the disciples by depicting the initial association of Jesus with his first two disciples. The second evangelist begins by describing Jesus seeing Simon and Andrew, calling them to be his disciples, and the two men following Jesus (Mark 1:16-18). However, the fourth evangelist begins by portraying John seeing Jesus, declaring to his two disciples Andrew and Philip that Jesus is the Lamb of God, and Andrew and Philip following Jesus (John 1:36-37).[401] Mark presents Jesus' first two disciples as following him on

[401] Two of John the Baptist's disciples follow Jesus as a result of hearing the Baptist's testimony concerning Jesus' identity as the Lamb of God (John 1:36-37). One of these disciples is specified as Andrew who goes on to find Simon and to testify to him about Jesus' identity (John 1.40-41), while the other disciple remains unspecified. This study contends that the other disciple is Philip who in turn goes on to find Nathanael and to testify to him about Jesus' identity (John 1:44-45). F. Neirynck challenges the traditional view that the anonymous second disciple of John the Baptist was the Beloved Disciple. He challenges particularly J-H. Kuhn who proposes that the second of John the Baptist's disciples was the Beloved Disciple. Kuhn considers John 1:40 to be similar to John 13:23 where the Beloved Disciple is referenced directly and thus assumes that it is the Beloved Disciple is being referred to in John 1:40. Additionally, he deems John 1:38 to be similar to John 21:20 where the Beloved Disciple is again referenced directly and thus again assumes that it is the Beloved Disciple is being referred to in John 1:38. Hans-Jürgen Kuhn, *Christologie und Wunder: Untersuchungen zu Joh 1,35-51* (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1988), 128-130. Neirynck considers Kuhn's proposed parallels to lead to 'negative conclusions' as he posits that 'they are unable to support the identification of the anonymous in 1,35-39 as the Beloved Disciple.' Frans Neirynck, "The Anonymous Disciple," in *Evangelica II 1982-1991: Collected Essays,* ed. Frans Neirynck (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1991), 648. For a recent discussion which seeks to propose that the other disciple in the Beloved Disciple see Udo Schnelle, "Der ungenannte Jünger in Johannes 1:40," in *The Opening of John's Narrative: Historical, Literary, and Theological Readings from the Colloquium Ioanneum 2015 in Ephesus*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Jörg Frey., WUNT I/385 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 97-118.

Additionally, where the Beloved Disciple is specifically referred to in the gospel, he is always presented as being in a significance position. For example, he was the disciple who reclined closest to Jesus at supper (John 13:23), he was the only male disciple at the foot of the cross (John 19:20), he got to the tomb before Peter and was the first disciple to see that Jesus had been resurrected (John 20:4-5). Thus, it seems unlikely that the fourth evangelist is referring to the Beloved Disciple in (John 1:37) as he is not presented in any significant position.

Moreover, M-É. Boismard, writing in relation to the second disciple, notes that 'plutôt que Jean l'apôtre, ce pourrait être Philippe.' He suggests that the anonymous second disciple was Philip as Andrew and Philip are presented by John as a pair in other parts of the gospel. They appear together as a pair in the narrative concerning the feeding of the multitude (John 6:1-15), they also appear together as a pair in the narrative regarding the Greeks who were seeking Jesus (John 12:20-26). Marie-Émile Boismard, *Du baptême à Cana: Jean, 1, 19-2, 11* (Paris: Cerf, 1956), 72.

Furthermore, that John intends Andrew and Philip to be regarded as a pair in this pericope is evidenced by his vocabulary choices, as both Andrew and Philip utter parallel verbatim statements: Andrew - εὑρήκαμεν… 'we have found…' (John 1:41); Philip - εὑρήκαμεν… 'we have found…' (John 1:45). In relation to John's structuring of this pericope Boismard observes John's intended parallelism evidences that Philip is John the Baptist's second disciple as he commented 'le

account of his call, while John portrays Jesus' first two disciples following him on the basis of John's testimony. In this instance it may be proposed that the fourth evangelist draws on the notion of two disciples initially becoming associated with Jesus, but that he changes the individual who evokes the disciples' reaction to Jesus. This suggested method of source use and adaptation seems to parallel with the technique of transferring the actions of a character/s to another character/s as evidenced in the works of Josephus and in the Gospel of Peter.

Additionally, the author of the fourth gospel seems to add to the description of Jesus' first encounter with Andrew and Philip. The fourth evangelist presents Jesus asking Andrew and Philip 'what are you seeking' (John 1:38a) and in turn portrays the two men asking Jesus 'where are you staying' (John 1:38b). Consequently, he depicts Jesus responding 'come and see' (John 1:39a) and narrates that the two men 'came and saw where he was staying and stayed with him that day' (John 1:39b). This proposed method of source use and adaptation seems to parallel with the Greek biographer Plutarch and the Jewish historian Josephus' technique of adding small sections of unparalleled material to their source texts.

John 1:40-51 and Mark 1:19-20

Mark and John both continue their material concerning the disciples by depicting a second pair of disciples becoming associated with Jesus, bringing Jesus' initial disciples to four. Mark continues by portraying Jesus as seeing James and John, calling them to be his disciples, and the two men following Jesus (Mark 1:19-20). However, John firstly presents Andrew finding Simon, declaring that Jesus is the Messiah, and bringing Simon to Jesus (John 1:40-42a). Secondly, John presents Philip finding Nathanael, declaring that Jesus is the one whom Moses write about in the Law and the Prophets, and asking Nathanael to come and see Jesus (John 1:45a, 46b).[402]

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parallélisme voulu par l'évangéliste ne prend tout son sens que si André et Philippe jouent le même rôle dans la perspective théologique du récit: servir d'intermédiaires entre le Baptiste et Jésus, soit pour Simon, soit pour Nathanaël.' Marie-Émile Boismard, "Les traditions johanniques concernant le Baptiste," *RB* 17 (1963): 41.

Finally, while it may seem that Philip had not met Jesus before, on account of the fact that the author of the fourth gospel narrates that Jesus found Philip in Galilee and requested Philip to follow him (John 1:43), it is possible that due to a time and location change, Jesus is simply rekindling the connection that he had made with Philip previously. Additionally, the notion that Philip met Jesus at the same time as Andrew met him becomes more probable when it is considered that had Philip only just met Jesus in Galilee he would have been unable to make the thoroughly informed testimony that he did concerning Jesus identity, as opposed to if he had met him in Bethany after hearing the testimony of John the Baptist and after having spent time with Jesus (John 1:35-39).

[402] C.S. Keener posits that 'Philip utters a confession identical in sense to that of Andrew: "we have found the Messiah" (1:41). Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, 2 vols. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003), 482-83.

<table>
<tr><td>Mark 1:16-20</td><td colspan="2">John 1:36-42a, 45a, 46b</td></tr>
<tr><td>Jesus
↓
Calls Simon and Andrew to be his disciples
↓
Simon and Andrew ‘left’ (ἀφέντες) their nets and ‘followed him’ (ἠκολούθησαν)</td><td colspan="2">John
↓
Testifies to Andrew and Philip that Jesus is the Lamb of God
↓
Andrew and Philip ‘followed’ (ἠκολούθησαν) Jesus and stayed with him</td></tr>
<tr><td>Jesus
↓
Calls James and John to be his disciples
↓
James and John ‘left’ (ἀφέντες) their father in Zebedee in the boat with the hired men and ‘followed him’ (ἀπῆλθον)</td><td>Andrew
↓
Andrew ‘finds’(εὑρίσκει) Simon and testifies ‘we have found’ (εὑρήκαμεν) the Messiah
↓
Andrew brings Simon to Jesus</td><td>Philip
↓
Philip ‘finds’(εὑρίσκει) Nathanael and testifies ‘we have found’ (εὑρήκαμεν) the one whom Moses wrote about in the Law and the Prophets
↓
Philip asks Nathanael to come and see Jesus</td></tr>
</table>

In regard to this material it might be proposed that the fourth evangelist draws on the premise of another pair or disciples becoming associated with Jesus, bringing the total to four, and also borrows the technique of paralleling the two pairs. However, he again seems to change the individual who evokes the disciples' reaction to Jesus. This suggested method of source use and adaptation again appears to parallel with the technique of transferring the actions of a character/s to another character/s as evidenced in the works of the fourth evangelist's Jewish and Early Christian contemporaries. The author of the fourth gospel develops Philip's correct christological statement with a further statement which presents him as a disciple who does not yet quite appreciate the true identity of Jesus. Further to his initial statement, Philip identifies Jesus as 'Jesus of Nazareth, son of Joseph' (John 1:45b). Philip does not yet grasp that Jesus was the Son who originated from the Father and could not have earthly origins. In this regard Klink observes 'Philip with a short sighted and limited estimation of Jesus' person did not understand the fullness of what he had invited Nathanael to "come and see".'[403] This proposed method of source use and adaptation seems to parallel with the technique of adding short phrases as evidenced notably in the Gospel of Peter where the author adds short spoken phrases to the lips of his characters.

Additionally, the author of John's gospel appears to add to the description of Jesus' first encounter with Simon and Nathanael. The author of the fourth gospel presents Jesus, upon first seeing Simon, declaring 'you are Simon the son of John? You will be called Cephas which means Peter' (John 1:42b), and he in turn portrays Jesus, upon first seeing Nathanael, declaring 'Behold, truly an Israelite in whom there is no deceit' (John 1:47). In regard to Jesus' latter statement a prior interaction between Philip and Nathanael should be considered. Before accepting Philip's

[403] Klink, *John*, 150-51.

request to 'come and see', Nathanael somewhat scornfully asks 'can anything good come out of Nazareth?' (John 1:46) A number of commentators consider Nathanael's initial scepticism to be the result of his identity as an individual from Cana (cf. John 21:2) as it is thought that there was a strong rivalry between Cana and Nazareth.[404] Nevertheless, despite this contention Nathanael is presented by the fourth evangelist as eventually putting his prejudices aside and agreeing to go and meet Jesus. More specifically, Brown suggests that Nathanael's initial scepticism may have been more to do with his views surrounding the Law and the Prophets as mentioned in Philip's testimony:

> Nathanael reacts to Philip's news about Jesus with disparaging doubt, a reaction that Jesus will encounter all too often among those who believe in the Law and the Prophets. But when Philip persists Nathanael is willing to come and see; he is not then, like 'the Jews' of ch. ix who claim to accept Moses (ix 29) but reject Jesus' challenge to see and thus sink into blindness (ix 41).[405]

Despite Nathanael's particular established beliefs he is portrayed by the author of the fourth gospel as eventually putting these aside and consenting to meet Jesus. Thus, it is with this incident in the background that John portrays Jesus declaring that Nathanael was an Israelite in whom there is no deceit. In both these instances, the fourth evangelist presents Jesus displaying his supernatural knowledge. He portrays Jesus having no prior connection with Simon but possessing the ability to see into his present and future identity, and having no prior connection with Nathanael but possessing the ability to appreciate his past opinions and current actions. Finally, the author of the fourth gospel appears to add a section of material concerning Jesus' further interaction with Nathanael. He presents Jesus' act of supernatural knowledge eliciting a belief response from Nathanael who declares 'You are the Son of God. You are the King of Israel' (John 1:49). Consequently, he portrays Jesus acknowledging Nathanael's belief and in turn says to Nathanael 'You will see greater things than these' and 'truly truly I say to you, you will see the heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending on the Son of Man.' (John 1:50-51). The author of the fourth gospel uses Genesis imagery to present Jesus identifying himself to Nathanael as the one who reveals God. Since just as Jacob in a dream saw a ladder with angels ascending and descending it and God at the top of the ladder (Gen 28:12-13), so the fourth evangelist presents Nathanael seeing Jesus (Son of Man) with angels ascending and descending on him.[406] V.P. Hamilton notes than in

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[404] Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 482-83. Donald A. Carson, *The Gospel according to John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 160. Barnabas Lindars, *The Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 118. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 184.

[405] Brown, *The Gospel according to John I-XII*, 86. Thyen regards both Nathanael's belief and place of origin to play a part in his response to Philip as he noted that Nathanael was „offenbar ein gerade in Gesetz und Propheten erfahrener Mann und als Einwohner Kanas." Thyen, *Johannesevangelium*, 141.

[406] J.H. Neyrey extensively argues for John's use of Genesis material in John 1.51. Jerome H. Neyrey, "The Jacob Allusions in John 1:51," *CBQ* 44 (1982): 589-604. Moreover, Keener observes 'the 'angels ascending and descending' is a direct quote from Gen 28.12.' Keener, *The Gospel of John*,

the Genesis story the ladder represents the 'way by which God makes himself known to Jacob.'[407] Thus, in the fourth gospel, Jesus is the way through which God becomes known by Nathanael. These proposed methods of source use and adaptation appear to align with the techniques of adding short phrases and adding short and medium sized sections as evidenced in the works of the fourth evangelist's Greek, Roman, Jewish, and Early Christian contemporaries.

Summary of Findings

There are some similarities and a number of differences between the Markan and Johannine material concerning Jesus' first four disciples. Gardner-Smith and strikingly Barrett argue that these notable differences indicate that the fourth evangelist draws on independent material, rather than indicating that John thoroughly adapts the Markan material as posited by Lincoln. In the foregoing comparison of Mark and John it has been proposed that the author of the fourth gospel appears to use and adapt Mark in ways comparable to the manner in which his literary contemporaries worked with source material. In methods similar to those employed by Plutarch, Tacitus, Josephus, and the author of the Gospel of Peter, the fourth evangelist seems to thoroughly adapt his source material. He does not copy Mark verbatim, but rather intentionally rewrites the contents of Mark's material. Additionally, he utilises a combination of techniques within this individual pericope: the transferral of the actions of one character/s to another character/s, and the addition of short phrases and small and medium sized sections of unparalleled material. Therefore, John appears to follow ancient compositional practice by using and freely adapting Markan material.

ii. Explanatory Analysis

Within this section the proposed adaptations made by the fourth evangelist to his Markan source shall be explored in light of the author's wider literary aims in order to account for John's likely adaptation of his source material.

John the Witness

This section of the fourth gospel again begins with John, and his role as witness to Jesus is once more brought to the fore. John's role as a witness to evoke belief in Jesus is made clear in the prologue. In the prologue, the author of the fourth gospel

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489. Lincoln also sates in regard to Jn 1.51 'its formulation has been decisively influenced by the account of Jacob's dream in Gen 28.12.' Lincoln, *The Gospel according to St John*, 122. Additionally, Schnackenburg similarly remarks that 'the relationship to the vision of Jacob's ladder cannot be denied, since the words of Gen 28.12 "angels of God ascending and descending" recur in the same order.' Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John*, 320. For the opposing view that John 1:51 does not draw on Genesis 28:12 see W. Michaelis who observes „haben wir nichts angetroffen, was zwingend erwarten ließe, daß in 1, 51 speziell Gen. 28, 12 im Hinter grund stehen müßte." Walter Michaelis, "Joh. 1,51, Gen. 28,12 und das Menschensohn-Problem," *ThLZ* 85 (1960): 568.

[407] Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 18-50* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 240.

indicates that John came to bear testimony concerning Jesus so that all might believe (John 1:7). In the comparative analysis it has been proposed that the fourth evangelist adapts the Markan material in ways comparable to the methods employed by his literary contemporaries. He appears to adapt the material in this section so as to fit with and expand upon the material in the prologue which introduces John's role as a witness. This is observed by Dodd:

> The repeated proclamation, Ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, in i.36 indicates that the narrative contained in 1.35-7 is intended to be closely connected with the foregoing, and to indicate the effect of the 'testimony of John', in accordance with the clause in the Prologue, ἵνα πάντες πιστεύσωσιν δι' αὐτοῦ.[408]

For example, rather than depicting Jesus calling Simon and Andrew to follow him (Mark 1:16-17), the fourth evangelist presents John testifying to Andrew and Philip concerning Jesus' identity as the lamb of God (John 1:36), and instead of presenting Simon and Andrew following Jesus (Mark 1:18), the author of the fourth gospel portrays Andrew and Nathanael following Jesus and agreeing to 'come and see' in other words believe in Jesus (John 1:37-39). Additionally, rather than presenting Jesus calling James and John to follow him (Mark 1:20), the fourth evangelist describes Andrew and Philip displaying their belief initiated by John by testing to Simon and Nathanael that Jesus is the Messiah (John 1:41b, 45a). The act of John bringing people to belief in this section concludes his portrayal as begun in the previous section and fulfils his presentation as set out in the prologue:

Prologue John 1:6-8	*Pericope one* John 1:19-34	*Pericope two* John 1:35-51
Sent by God (John 1:6).	Receives a vision from God which allows his to testify that Jesus is the Son of God (John 1:32-34).	
A witness to the light (John 1:7a, 8b).	Declares that he is simply a voice crying in the wilderness (John 1:23), and testifies to Jesus' identity as the 'lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world' (John 1:29).	
Not the light (John 1:8a).	Declares that he is not the Christ, Elijah, nor the Prophet (John 1:19-21).	
Testify so that all might believe (John 1:7b).		Testifies that Jesus is the lamb of God which evokes belief in Jesus by Andrew and Nathanael (John 1:36,39, 41, 45a).

The Disciples

The disciples of Jesus are introduced for the first time in this section and the portrayal of the disciples is such that R.F. Collins describes it as an 'interlude on the

[408] Dodd, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, 251.

nature of discipleship.'[409] In the comparative analysis it has been suggested that the author of the fourth gospel adapts the Markan material in ways comparable to the methods utilised by his literary contemporaries. He seems to adapt the material in this section in order to introduce and reflect the different facets of discipleship presented throughout the gospel. These features are believing, misunderstanding, abiding, and testifying.

The fourth evangelist includes unparalleled material in which Andrew and Philip accept Jesus' request to 'come and see'/ to believe (John 1:39) and in which Nathanael displays his belief by confessing that Jesus is the Son of God and the King of Israel (John 1:49). Additionally, rather than portraying Jesus calling James and John (Mark 1:19), the fourth evangelist presents Andrew and Nathanael confessing their belief in Jesus as the Messiah to Simon and Nathanael (John 1: 41, 45a). By making these adaptations, the author of the fourth gospel introduces the important concept of belief. In regard to belief being an important feature of discipleship in the fourth gospel, Moody Smith remarks 'in no other Gospel is the disciples' believing in Jesus given quite the prominence it has in the Fourth Gospel.'[410] Throughout the gospel, John portrays Jesus repeatedly calling for his disciples to believe in him (John 3:16; 6:29; 14:1, 11:25-26; 20:27). Also throughout the narrative Jesus' disciples further display their belief in him through making christological confessions. For example, the author presents Peter addressing Jesus and confessing 'you have the words of eternal life' and 'you are the Holy One of God' (John 6:68b, 69b), Martha confessing 'Yes Lord, I believe that you are the Christ, the Son of God who is coming into the world' (John 11:27), and Thomas addressing Jesus and confessing 'My Lord and my God' (John 20:28).

The author of the fourth gospel also includes unparalleled material in which he depicts Philip making a correct christological confession – 'we have found him of whom Moses in the Law and also the Prophets wrote (John 1:49a), which is followed with an incorrect christological confession – 'Jesus of Nazareth, son of Joseph (John 1:49b). Through making this adaptation, the fourth evangelist introduces the notion of misunderstanding. Culpepper observes that the disciples in the fourth gospel are 'not exemplars of perfect faith, but of positive responses and typical misunderstandings.'[411] In the course of Jesus' ministry the disciples did not comprehend that through his unique relationship with Jesus God sustains Jesus and as such acts as his 'food' (John 4:31-34); Philip did not appreciate that the bread would be acquired through Jesus' divine power rather than by earthly means (John 6:5-7); The disciples did not recognise that Jesus would employ his divine power and 'wake' Lazarus from the dead (John 11:11-13); Thomas did not understand when Jesus departed where he would be going (John 14:5); Peter did not realise that Jesus'

[409] Raymond F. Collins, *These Things Have Been Written: Studies on the Fourth Gospel* (Leuven: Peeters Press, 1990), 54. In a similar vein, Brown comments 'John has used the occasion of the call of the disciples to summarize discipleship in its whole development.' Brown, *The Gospel according to John I-XII*, 78.

[410] Moody Smith, *The Theology of the Gospel of John*, 137.

[411] Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel*, 115.

death was predetermined and necessary as he launched a defensive attack on the High Priest's servant (John 18:10-11).

The fourth evangelist includes further unparalleled material in which Andrew and Philip ask where Jesus is staying, Jesus invites them there, and they in turn stay with Jesus (John 1:38-39). By making this adaptation, John introduces the concept of 'staying', 'remaining', and 'abiding' (μένω) with Jesus. However, in the gospel the premise of 'staying', 'remaining', and 'abiding' (μένω) with or in Jesus is a multifaceted concept. The central group of disciples are portrayed by John as staying loyal and faithful to Jesus even when 'many of his disciples turned back and no longer walked with him' (John 6:66-69). Additionally, Jesus is presented as asking his disciples to stay/remain committed to his teaching, as he says to them 'if you remain (μείνητε) in my word you are truly my disciples' (John 8:31 cf. John 15:7). On this premise Bennema notes 'continual adherence to Jesus' teaching is a demonstration of authentic discipleship.'[412] Moreover, Jesus is also depicted as asking his disciples to stay/remain/abide in him and to bear fruit, as he remarks 'abide (μείνατε) in me and I in you…I am the vine and you are the branches. The one abiding (μένων) in me and I in him, he it is that bears much fruit, from apart from me you can do nothing' (John 15:4a, 5), added to which Jesus further says 'I chose you and appointed you that you should go and bear fruit…' (John 15:16a). In regard to these verses, C.L. Winbery observes 'the basic resource for discipleship is the mutual abiding which allows them to know and to serve.'[413] The agricultural metaphor of bearing fruit has been considered by commentators to allude to the disciples' mission after Jesus' departure.[414] In this respect, D.A. Carson comments 'the emphasis on *going* and bearing fruit ha[s] suggested to a number of commentators, probably rightly, that the fruit primarily in view in this verse is the fruit that emerges from mission, the specific ministry to which the disciples have been sent. The fruit in short is the new converts.'[415] Finally, Jesus is described by John as also asking his disciples to stay/remain/abide in his love and in turn to be willing to display one's love for another by laying down one's life, as Jesus says 'abide (μείνατε) in my love' (John 15:9b) and 'greater love has no one that someone lay down his life for his friends' (John 15:13). Just as Jesus was going to lay down his life for his friends/disciples whom he loved so too should a true disciple lay down his life for fellow believers whom he loved, as Moody Smith notes 'the true disciples of Jesus obey his commands, particularly the command to love one another.'[416]

Within this material rather than presenting Jesus as calling James and John (Mark 1:19), the author of the fourth gospel presents Simon and Philip acting as witnesses and testifying to Simon and Nathanael (John 1:45, 49a). By making this adaptation, John introduces the notion of witnessing. In relation to this feature of discipleship,

[412] Bennema, *Encountering Jesus*, 123.
[413] Carlton L. Winbery, "Abiding in Christ: The Concept of discipleship in John," *TTE* 38 (1988): 111.
[414] Klink, *John*, 658-59. George R. Beasley-Murray, *John*., WBC 36 (Waco, TX; Dallas; Nashville: Word, 1987), 275. Lindars, *The Gospel according to John*, 492.
[415] Carson, *The Gospel according to John*, 523.
[416] Moody Smith, *The Theology of the Gospel of John*, 138.

Bennema observes 'there seems to be a correlation between being a disciple and being a witness, in that a true disciple will bear witness to other people about Jesus.'[417] In the gospel, Jesus is presented by John as appointing the disciples as witnesses to offer testimony concerning him in the time after his departure, as he says to them 'you will bear witness' (John 15:27), and he in turn prays for those whom he has sent to testify (John 17:18), and also prays for 'those who will believe through their word' and testimony (John 17:20).[418]

Signs

This section of the gospel contains Jesus' first act as it narrates Jesus' initial interaction with his first four disciples. In the comparative analysis it has been proposed that the fourth evangelist adapts the Markan material in ways comparable to the methods utilised by his literary contemporaries. He seems to adapt the material in this section so as to introduce one of the key themes which runs throughout the first half of the gospel – *signs.* The author of the fourth gospel includes material in which Jesus reveals his supernatural knowledge to Simon and Nathanael (John 1:42b, 47). In regard to Jesus' latter interaction with Nathanael, U.C. von Wahlde argues that Jesus' act ought to be regarded as a sign. He notes that although the act is not 'labelled' as a sign it nevertheless 'functions' as a sign as it 'brings about belief' and it 'functions to show the superiority of Jesus'.[419] The author of the fourth gospel also includes material in which Jesus promises Nathanael that he will see greater

[417] Bennema, *Encountering Jesus*, 48.

[418] There is an interesting parallel to be drawn here between the disciples testifying about Jesus so that others might believe on one level and the author of the gospel, the Beloved Disciple, testifying about Jesus through the contents of gospel so that the readers may believe on a second level. For the case that the Beloved Disciple is depicted as the author, see Richard Bauckham, "The Beloved Disciple as Ideal Author," *JSNT* 15 (1993): 21-44.

Level one	*Level two*
Disciples – 'bear witness for you have been with me from the beginning' (John 15:27) 'and sent into the world' by Jesus (John 17:18).	*Beloved Disciple* – the one who reclined close to Jesus as supper (John 21:20b), the one who was at the foot of the cross (John 19:26), the one who arrived at the empty tomb first (John 20:4-5), 'this is the disciple bearing witness about these things, and who has written these things' (John 21:24a).
Testimony – 'their word' about Jesus (John 17:20b).	*Testimony* – 'signs' that are written concerning Jesus' acts (John 20:30a, 31a).
Recipients – 'those who will believe' (John 17:20a).	*Recipients* – the audience of the gospel so that they 'might believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God and by believing they might have life in his name' (John 21:31b).

[419] Urban C. von Wahlde, *The Gospel and Letters of John: Commentary on the Gospel of John, Vol 2* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 78-9.

things and Jesus describes these greater things, through the use of Genesis imagery, as revelations of God through his own person. This description fits with the notion of *signs* which are presented in the first half of the gospel as a *sign* is described by M.M. Thompson as 'a sign is a manifestation, through the person of Jesus, of God's work in the world…[they are] manifestations of the character of the God who stands behind them. Who is God made known in these signs.'[420] Thus, the author of the fourth gospel seems to be introducing the *signs* which will follow in the ensuing narrative,[421] and this is observed by Dodd who notes that Jesus' statement concerning the greater things 'contain[s] the brief substance of what the evangelist is now about to relate.'[422]

Summary of Findings

The fourth evangelist appears to adapt his Markan source material in ways comparable to the techniques employed by his literary contemporaries. In the foregoing discussion it has been illustrated that the proposed adaptations made by the author of the fourth gospel can be accounted for in light of his wider literary aims. The author of John's gospel appears to have adapted the Markan material as to continue to bring to completion his portrayal of John as a witness to Jesus as laid out in the prologue. He also seems to adapt the material in order to introduce the important discipleship features of believing in, abiding with, and testifying concerning Jesus. Finally, he appears to adapt the material so as to introduce the theme of *signs*.

IV. The Wedding at Cana: John 2:1-11

At this point in the gospel, the fourth evangelist presents a miracle story in which Jesus turns water into wine. This miracle story has no obvious parallel with the

[420] Marianne Meye Thompson, "Signs and Faith in the Fourth Gospel," *BBR* 1 (1991): 93-4.

[421] The exact material to which this statement relates has been debated. Brown and Schnackenburg argue that the statement refers particularly to Jesus' revelatory sign at Cana whereby he 'manifested' his glory and his disciples believed (John 2:11). Brown, *The Gospel according to John I-XII*, 83, 89; Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John*, 319. Conversely, Lincoln, Carson, and Bultmann propose that the statement concerns all Jesus' seven revelatory signs: John 2:1-11; 4:46-54; 5:1-15; 6:5-14; 6:16-24; 9:1-7; 11:1-45. Lincoln, *The Gospel according to St John*, 122. Carson, *The Gospel according to John*, 162. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 106. Conversely, W. Loader suggests that Jesus' statement relates rather to Jesus' 'death and exaltation and its fruits' and it refers to Jesus' full and final revelation. Loaders takes into consideration the context within which other 'Son of Man' references are situated in the gospel and observes that 'the title 'Son of Man' is used in the fourth gospel predominantly in passages which describe the events of Jesus' exaltation, glorification, and ascension' (John 3:13-15; 6:62; 8:28; 12:23; 12:34; 13:31). William Loader, "The 'Greater Things' of Johannine Christology," in *Anfänge der Christologie: Festschrift für Ferdinand Hahn zum 65. Gerburtstag*, ed. Cilliers Breytenbach and Henning Paulsen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 635-36.

[422] Dodd, *Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 296.

miracle stories in Mark's gospel. The author of the fourth gospel concludes the story by clarifying that Jesus' act was no mere miracle, but was a *sign* which evoked belief (John 2:11). There has been a tendency to assume that the fourth evangelist composes this section of his gospel independently from Mark. As noted in the History of Research, Bultmann and Fortna both posit that the author of the fourth gospel draws upon a source which contained this *sign* along with various other *signs* which the evangelist presented throughout the rest of the gospel.[423]

In a somewhat similar vein, Barrett and Lincoln who generally argue for John's use of Mark, propose that the fourth evangelist was not dependent on Mark, but may rather have been influenced by the legends of Dionysus when composing his story. Barrett observes that the story is a Johannine creation on account of its very nature as a *sign* and the strong Johannine emphasis on Jesus' supersession of Judaism, but he also suggests that the evangelist has been inspired by the notion of the god Dionysus who was associated with miracles involving water transforming into wine.[424] Lincoln additionally suggests that the worship of Dionysus was widespread and that stories concerning him would have been well known in Asia-Minor and Ephesus, thus he proposes that the audience of John's gospel would have recognised and understood the allusions to Dionysus' miracles.[425]

Conversely, Goulder argues that John's story of the miracle at Cana depends upon Mark 2:18-22. He proposes that in the second gospel, Mark presents Jesus being present at some occasion, he is criticised on account of his disciples failing to fast, he replies with a phrase concerning a bridegroom, and he concludes with a statement involving old and new wine. Similarly in the fourth gospel, John presents Jesus at a wedding where the wine has run out, portrays him having an abrupt conversation with his mother, and presents him transforming water into good wine. Thus, Goulder argues that 'there can be no question but that, on our standards, John has forced the text; but it is highly plausible that it is the text Mk 2,18-22, which has been forced.'[426]

Through the analysis of the Markan and Johannine narratives so far it has been shown that they follow the same structure: A prologue (Mark 1:1-15 and John 1:1-18), a section concerning John the (Baptist) (Mark 1:2-13 and John 1:19-34), and a section relating to Jesus' first four disciples (Mark 1:16-20 and John 1:35-51). Mark subsequently continues his gospel with a series of miracles (Mark 1:21-2:17), while John continues with a single *sign* (John 2:1-11). Goulder observes that this difference does not necessarily indicate that the fourth evangelist composes this section of his

[423] Bultmann – *Signs Source:* John 2:1-11; 4:46-54; 6:1-21; 9:1-41; 11:1-16. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 113, 180, 211, 239, 395. Fortna – *Signs Gospel:* John 2:1-11; 4:46-54; 5:2-9; 6:1-25; 9:1-8; 11:1-45; 21:1-14. Fortna, *The Fourth Gospel and Its Predecessor*, 49-117.

[424] Barrett, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 188-9. The following Dionysius miracle stories are as follows: 'Rivers taste of wine (Lucian, *Ver. hist*. 1.7) and fountains and springs produce wine on the days that celebrate the appearance of the god (Pliny, *Nat*. 2.231, 31.13; Diodorus, *Hist*. 3.66.2).' Lincoln *The Gospel according to St John*, 133.

[425] Lincoln, *The Gospel according to St John*, 132-33.

[426] Goulder, "John 1,1-2,12 and the Synoptics," 219.

gospel independently from the second gospel, but rather he proposes that it suggests that the author of the fourth gospel adapts the Markan gospel in line with his christological aims. In this regard, Goulder makes the following statement:

> It is in fact John's policy to greatly lessen the number of synoptic healings, and to combine features from them so as to expound more fully their significance as signs. It is therefore no special problem…that John has overleapt the best part of a Marcan chapter…it is his policy to do such things, perhaps from a conviction that Jesus was no ordinary exorcist or healer of fevers and skin troubles, but the Son of God, with signs to match.[427]

Thus, the following analysis seeks to propose that John used the Markan material from the second chapter of Mark's gospel. This will be achieved by assessing the use and deliberate adaptation of source material in light of ancient literary compositional practices, particularly in regard to the compositional methods employed by the fourth evangelist's literary contemporaries.

i. Comparative Analysis

John 2:1-4 and Mark 2:18-20

In Mark's gospel there is no story of a wedding at Cana; however, there is material in the second chapter of Mark's gospel to which this Johannine story can be compared. This comparable material in the second gospel is not positioned immediately after the material relating to Jesus' first four disciples, but rather is separated from it by a series of passages which depict Jesus' healing and teaching (Mark 1:21-2:17). The fourth evangelist appears to remove these intervening stories and seems to draw lightly from the material in Mark 2:19-22 in order to present and emphasise his first *sign*. This proposed method of source use and adaptation appears to align with the technique of omitting large sections of material as is evidenced in the work of Plutarch were he removes speeches which do not suit his biographical purpose and the work of Tacitus where he removes legal material that does not suit his historical aim. Again, this reflects Quintilian's technique of omission as part of his practice of literary imitation.

Both Mark and John present people misunderstanding Jesus' identity and both authors portray Jesus seeking to correct their miscomprehension by explaining his identity in relation to his death. The second evangelist depicts individuals questioning Jesus concerning his disciples' lack of fasting (Mark 2:18b). These individuals appear to support the practice of fasting and observe that while John the Baptist's disciples fast, Jesus' disciples fail to fast (Mark 2:18a). The response which Jesus gives highlights that those questioning him did not understand his identity. Mark depicts Jesus replying in an allegorical manner saying 'the wedding guests cannot fast when the bridegroom is with them, can they? As long as the bridegroom is with them, they cannot fast' (Mark 2:19). Jesus' response suggests the questioning parties'

[427] Goulder, "John 1,1-2,12 and the Synoptics," 219.

misunderstanding of his identity as his reply seems to suggest that the people challenging him appear to support the practice of fasting and in turn understand and believe that the coming kingdom will be inaugurated by acts of repentance such as fasting. However, Jesus' reply makes clear that his disciples need not fast as they understand his true identity as they believe that he will inaugurate the coming Kingdom (cf. Mark 1:15), and thus they might celebrate in this fact, like guests at a wedding with Jesus as the bridegroom. This latter point is observed by Boring: 'Jesus and his disciples do not fast in order to encourage God to bring about the kingdom, but celebrate in the light of the kingdom that is already dawning.'[428] Finally, the author of the second gospel portrays Jesus concluding his response to the enquiring party with the statement 'the days will come when the bridegroom is taken away from them, and then they will fast on that day' (Mark 2:20). Jesus here refers to his imminent death, at which point fasting as a typical sign of mourning would be appropriate, and in doing so he alludes to the premise that his death which would mark the fulfilment of his mission and would be the decisive event that inaugurated the Kingdom of God (cf. Mark 14:25).

The fourth evangelist depicts Jesus, his mother, and his disciples as guests at a wedding in Cana 'on the third day' (John 2:1-2).[429] He presents Jesus' mother becoming cognisant of the lack of wine and portrays her turning to Jesus and stating

[428] Boring, *Mark*, 85.

[429] The phrase 'on the third day' has received a great deal of attention. Dodd suggests that the phrase 'on the third day' is related to Jesus' resurrection as on the third day Jesus revealed his glory at Cana and on the third day he revealed his glory through the resurrection. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 300. Thompson, Carson, and Schnackenburg have challenged this proposal on the basis that the phrase 'on the third day' does not actually occur in John's gospel in relation to Jesus' resurrection. Marianne Meye Thompson, *John: A Commentary* (Atlanta; Richmond, VA: John Knox, 2015), 60. Carson, *The Gospel according to John*, 167. Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John*, 325. Conversely, Boismard proposes that the 'third day' in relation to the narrative 1:19-2:11 suggests a seven day week and that Jesus' miracle and revelation of his glory took place on the seventh day, seven days of a new creation: Day 1 – John 1: 19-28; Day 2 – John 1:29-34; Day 3 – John 1:35-39; Day 4 – John 1:40-42; Day 5 – John 1:43-51; Day 6 – implied by the phrase 'one the third day' which also can mean 'two days later'; Day 7 – John 2:1-11. Boismard, *Du baptême à Cana*, 15. In a somewhat similar vein, Bauckham, suggests that the 'third day' is mentioned so as to create a seven day week which might be parallel with the seven day Passion week: Day 1 – 'six days before Passover Jesus came to Bethany' (John 12:1-11); Day 2 – (John 12:12-36); Day 3 – Jesus in hiding (John 12:36); Day 4 - Jesus in hiding (John 12:36); Day 5 – the day of preparation (John 13:1-19:42); Day 6 – Sabbath/Passover (John 19.31); Day 7 - 'the first day of the week' (John 20:1-23). Bauckham, *Gospel of Glory*, 134-5. J.R. Michaels has challenged this seven day proposal arguing that there are only 6 days: Day 1 – John 1.19-28; Day 2 – John 1:29-34; Day 3 – John 1:35-42; Day 4 – John 1:43-51; Day 5 - implied by the phrase 'one the third day' which also can mean 'two days later'; Day 6 – John 2:1-11. J. Ramsey Michaels, *The Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 139-40. Taking a different approach Lincoln proposes that 'one the third day' perhaps has allusions to 'on the third day' in Exodus 19.11 'when God appears in glory to give the law.' Lincoln, *The Gospel according to St John*, 126. Keener however argues that John's audience would not have picked up on this allusion and as such it was not intended by John. Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 497. Finally, Thompson suggests a simple translation of 'on the third day' as 'after a few days'. Thompson, *John*, 60.

'they have no wine' (John 2:3), hoping presumably that he would do something to rectify the situation. R.H. Williams considers the nature of Jesus' mother's request in light of the setting in which the request was made. She suggests that Jesus' mother sought to remind Jesus of his family obligations as by practically acting and procuring more wine, Jesus as the head of the household would bring honour upon himself and in turn his family.[430] The response which Jesus gives emphasises his mother's misunderstanding of his identity. John depicts Jesus replying 'Woman, what concern is that to you and to me?' (Τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, γύναι;) (John 2:4a). Through Jesus' somewhat abrupt retort he distances himself from his mother. This is observed by Bennema who notes that the impersonal way in which Jesus' addresses his mother, 'woman' (γύναι), 'may suggest that he distances himself from her and rejects any claim she might make on him because of their family relationships.'[431] Additionally, A.H. Maynard suggests that 'τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί' (John 2:4a) ought to be translated 'what have we in common' or 'what business do we have with each other'. Thus, he proposes that 'it is very clearly the intent of the author to have Jesus indicate a complete separation from himself and his mother'.[432] Finally, by means of Jesus' concluding retort, the author of the fourth gospel portrays him making clear his mother's error as he says 'My hour has not yet come' (John 2:4b).[433] In this statement Jesus refers to his imminent death (cf. John 13:1) which would mark the fulfilment of his mission and would be the decisive event through which God would be fully revealed (cf. John 8:28). Thus, in his response to his mother, Jesus alludes to the premise that he cannot be honoured in an earthly manner through acting as his mother's son, and rather that his only honour will be in acting as the Son of the Father by revealing God, when the 'hour' arrives. Mark portrays a group of Jewish individuals misunderstanding Jesus' identity and presents Jesus responding to them by explaining his identity in relation to his death, while John presents Jesus' mother misunderstanding his identity and portrays him responding to her by explaining his

[430] Ritva H. Williams, "The Mother of Jesus at Cana: A Social-Science Interpretation of John 2:1-12," *CBQ* 59 (1997): 686, 88.

[431] Bennema, *Encountering Jesus*, 71.

[432] Arthur H. Maynard, "TI EMOI KAI ΣOI," *NTS* 31 (1985): 582, 84. Moreover, Maynard also offered an interesting proposal concerning John's use and adaptation of Mark in relation to this statement. He proposes '[if] we turn to what may have been his source, we note a striking relationship between the expression Τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί here, and Τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί in Mark 1:24 despite the different setting for them.' He observes the similar order of events in both John and Mark: witness of John the Baptist (John 1:19-34 // Mark 1:2-9); Jesus' first four disciples (John 1:35-51 // Mark 1:16-20); Jesus' first miracle (John 2:1-11 // Mark 1:21-28), and it is in this first miracle that the similar phrase is found in both gospels. Maynard suggests that the phase in Mark uttered by the demon indicates the 'divine power of Jesus' and in turn concluded 'it is our hypothesis that the writer of the Fourth Gospel, in compiling his material, found this recognition of the higher nature of Jesus in his sources, a recognition which was in harmony with his interpretation of Jesus.' Maynard, "TI EMOI KAI ΣOI," 584-5.

[433] In Mark's gospel the phrase 'the hour' also refers to Jesus' death. In Mark's Gethsemane scene Jesus is presented by the evangelist as declaring 'it is enough, the hour has come. The Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of sinners' (Mark 14:41b). Similarly in John's gospel, the author narrates 'Jesus knew that his hour had come to depart out of this world to the father' (John 13:1a).

identity in relation to his death, specifically his hour. In this instance it might be proposed that the author of the fourth gospel draws on the notion of a wedding scenario and draws on the concept of misunderstanding and subsequent clarification, but that he changes the metaphorical wedding into a literal wedding and changes the individuals doing the misunderstanding along with Jesus' response. This proposed method of source use and adaptation seems to align with the technique of transferring the actions of a character/s to another character/s as evidenced in the works of Josephus and in the Gospel of Peter, and it also aligns with the technique of significantly altering the words of a primary character as demonstrated in the works of Plutarch, Josephus, and in the Gospel of Peter. However, the method of transferring a metaphorical event into a literal event is not reflected in the works of the fourth evangelist's literary contemporaries.[434]

John 2:5-11 and Mark 2:21-22

In Mark's former section his allegorical story contrasts the traditional Jewish ways of fasting to bring about the Kingdom of God with the emerging ways of Jesus through whose death the Kingdom of God would be brought about. Subsequently, in this latter section, the second evangelist presents a pair of allegorical sayings which elaborate and emphasise his former point. In the first of these sayings, Mark conveys the futility of sewing a new patch onto an old cloth as the old cloth would simply tear (Mark 2:21), and in the second of these sayings he portrays the futility of putting new wine into old wineskins as the old wineskins would simply burst, as new wine is for fresh wineskins (Mark 2:22). Thus, this pair of sayings reinforce that the new ways of Jesus do not fit into the old ways of Judaism. This is observed by Hooker, who comments 'the old forms of Judaism – symbolized by the practice of fasting – cannot contain the new factors introduced into the situation by the coming of Jesus and his proclamation of the Kingdom of God.'[435]

In the fourth gospel, John continues his pericope by presenting Jesus' mother reacting to her son's response by commanding the servants attending to the guests at the wedding 'do whatever he tells you' (John 2:5b). Bennema observes that Jesus' mother acts purely as a 'catalyst' for Jesus' forthcoming acts,[436] as he notes that 'we can hardly assume that Jesus' mother grasped the significance of what her son was saying in 2:4, and hence her reaction in 2:5 should be evaluated with caution.'[437] However, D.R. Beck proposes that the author of the fourth gospel portrays her in a 'paradigmatic manner' representative of discipleship in the fourth gospel. He suggests this on the premise that 'she not only accepts the revelation of his unique

[434] A comparable use of this technique may be seen in John's possible use of Lukan material. Luke presents Jesus telling a parable concerning the death of a poor man named Lazarus (Luke 16:19-30). John perhaps takes this parabolic story and transforms it into a physical event by portray Jesus as raising Lazarus from the dead (John 11:38-44).

[435] Hooker, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 100.

[436] Bennema, *Encountering Jesus*, 73.

[437] Bennema, *Encountering Jesus*, 72.

identity and the revaluation of her relationship to him that it implies, she bears witness to the efficacy of his words and challenges others to heed what he says (2:5)',[438] as her response can be described 'as one of faith and witness'.[439] M. Scott similarly remarks that her reaction 'demonstrat[es] the pattern of μαρτυρεῖν and πιστεύειν'.[440] Whilst Jesus' mother's witness does not evoke the servant's belief in Jesus, her witness sets in motion an event which would in turn evoke the disciples' belief in Jesus, as Scott notes 'her faithful response in preparation of what is to come (2:5) will ultimately lead others to an encounter with the δόξα of Jesus and a consequent expression of πίστις on their part (2:11).'[441] Consequently, as a result of Jesus' mother's command, the fourth evangelist portrays the servants willingly receiving Jesus' request to fill six stone water jars set aside for the Jewish rites of purification to the brim with water. Having filled the water jars with twenty to thirty gallons of water, the evangelist presents Jesus asking the servants to remove a portion of the water and take it to the master of the feast. Without narrating the details of the transformation miracle, John depicts the master of the feast realising that what he was drinking was wine, and without comprehending that the procuration of wine was a miraculous act on the part of Jesus he in turn called the bridegroom and declared 'everyone serves good wine first and when people have drunk freely, then the poor wine. But you have kept the good wine until now' (John 2:6-10). With this miraculous act, the author appears to juxtapose the old ways of Judaism represented by the water set aside for purification and the new ways of Jesus represented by the abundance of the choicest wine. This is observed by Ashton who notes that the contents of the story show 'the evangelist's determination to contrast the water of the old dispensation with the wine of the new'[442] and Dodd who proposes that the contrast may be intended to convey more specifically that the 'old order in religion is superseded by a new order.'[443]

The fourth evangelist subsequently draws the story to a close with the concluding yet highly significant statement 'this, the first of his signs, Jesus did at Cana in Galilee, and manifested his glory. And his disciples believed in him' (John 2.11). John describes this miraculous act of Jesus as a *sign*. A *sign* in John's gospel may be described as an act through which Jesus as the embodiment of God manifests his glory/reveals his divine identity and simultaneously manifests God's glory/reveals God's identity.[444] In this first sign the provision of wine perhaps appears to be infused

[438] David R. Beck, *The Discipleship Paradigm: Readers and Anonymous Characters in the Fourth Gospel* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 57.
[439] Beck, *The Discipleship Paradigm*, 58.
[440] Martin Scott, *Sophia and the Johannine Jesus*., JSNTsup 71 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 181.
[441] Scott, *Sophia and the Johannine Jesus*, 181.
[442] John Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 175, n.70.
[443] Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 299.
[444] Nielsen describes the signs as 'tokens of his intimate relation to God and hence revelations of his divine identity.' Jesper T. Nielsen, "The Narrative Structures of Glory and Glorification in the Fourth Gospel," *NTS* 56 (2010): 358. Additionally, Thompson describes them as 'manifestation[s], through

with imagery from Isaiah. Jesus' abundant provision of the choicest wine is reminiscent of Isaiah's prophecy concerning God's promise to all people of the abundant provision of rich food and well-aged wine in the time of salvation when death would be swallowed up forever (Isa 25:6, 7b).[445] Thus, through Jesus' sign he reveals himself and makes known his offer of salvation and the gift of eternal life and simultaneously he reveals God and makes known God's offer of salvation and the gift of eternal life. Subsequently, as a result of Jesus' *sign*, the evangelist portrays the disciples believing in him, and consequently believing in God (cf. John 12:44; 14:1). The second evangelist presents Jesus speaking in an allegorical manner about old wine skins which represents the old ways of Judaism and the new wine skins and new wine which reflect the new ways of Jesus, whilst the fourth evangelist portrays the wedding servers following Jesus' mother's request, Jesus turning the purification water which reflects the old ways of Judaism into the best wine which represents the new ways of Jesus, and Jesus' disciples believing in him on account of the *sign*. In regard to this material it might be suggested that the fourth evangelist draws on the imagery of wine and the notion of the new replacing the old, but that he changes the allegorical statement about new wine into the procuration of good physical wine which stands as Jesus' first *sign,* and that he includes an unparalleled depiction of Jesus' mother. This suggested method of source use and adaptation seems to parallel with the technique of adding short phrases and small pieces of unparalleled material as reflected in the works of Plutarch and Josephus, and in the Gospel of Peter. Again, the author of the fourth gospel utilises the method of transforming an allegorical saying into a physical event which is not reflected in the work of his literary contemporaries.

Summary of Findings

John's story of the miraculous transformation of water into wine at the wedding in Cana is notably different from Mark's depiction of Jesus responding to Jewish figures about the practice of fasting; however, there are also some points of contact. The nature of this material had led scholars to posit that John composes this passage independently from Mark either by drawing on a source which recorded Jesus' *signs* as proposed by Bultmann and Fortna, or through being influenced by aspects of Graeco-Roman religion as suggested by Barrett and Lincoln. Conversely, the subtle similarities and notable differences between the material in the second and fourth gospel could reflect the fourth evangelist's thorough reworking of the Markan material as proposed by Goulder. In the foregoing comparison of Mark and John it has been suggested that the fourth evangelist appears to use and adapt Mark in ways comparable to the manner in which his literary contemporaries worked with source material. In methods similar to those set out by Quintilian those utilised by Plutarch,

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the person of Jesus of God's work in the world.' Thompson "Signs and Faith in the Fourth Gospel," 94.

[445] Thompson, *John*, 63.

Josephus, and the author of the Gospel of Peter, the author of the fourth gospel seems to thoroughly adapt his source material. He in no way copies Mark verbatim, but rather thoroughly reworks the contents of Mark's material. Additionally, he utilises a combination of techniques within this individual pericope: the transferral of the actions of one character/s to another character/s, and the addition of short phrases and small pieces of unparalleled material. The evangelist also employs the technique of transforming a metaphorical event into a physical event which is not reflected in the works of his literary contemporaries. Therefore, John appears to follow ancient compositional practice by using and freely adapting Markan material.

ii. Explanatory Analysis

Jesus' Hour

In the fourth gospel the term 'hour' refers to Jesus' death. It is not time specific referring to the exact hour in which he dies, but rather refers to the event itself whereby Jesus would fully reveal God. In the comparative analysis it has been proposed that the fourth evangelist adapts the Markan material in ways comparable to the methods utilised by his literary contemporaries. He seems to adapt the material in this section so as to introduce his own particular motif of the 'hour'. For example, rather than presenting Jesus telling his Jewish questioners who misunderstand his identity that the Kingdom of God would not be inaugurated through fasting, but his imminent death (Mark 2:20), the author of the fourth gospel portrays Jesus telling his mother who misunderstands his identity that he would be honoured not through procuring more wine, but by revealing God through his imminent death, thus, Jesus tells his mother that his hour had not yet come (John 2:4). In the first half of the gospel the hour is still to come (John 2:4; 4:21; 5:25; 7:30; 8:20) and in the second half of the gospel the hour has come (John 12:23; 17:1). In chapter 17, Jesus prays to God saying 'Father the hour has come; glorify your Son so that the Son might glorify you' (John 17:1). This is interpreted by Lincoln who notes 'Jesus' hour of exultation through death will be the paradoxical establishment of the reputation of both God and Jesus.'[446]

Female Disciples

The passage concerning Jesus' first *sign* at a wedding in Cana of Galilee incudes the first of two scenes in the gospel where Jesus' mother is present.[447] Within this

[446] Lincoln, *The Gospel according to St John*, 434.

[447] J.M. Lieu observes a possible parallel between the two mentions of Jesus' mother in the fourth gospel: John 2:1-5 and John 20:25-27. She proposes that the fourth evangelist may have intentionally introduced Jesus' mother at the beginning and the end of the gospel so as to form an *inclusio*. In both passages, Lieu observes that Jesus' mother takes a leading role, she is referred to by Jesus as simply γύναι (John 2:4; 19:26), the hour is referred to for the first and last time (John 2:4; 20:27), in the first

passage, Jesus' mother is perhaps presented by the evangelist as being a model disciple. In the comparative analysis it has been proposed that the fourth evangelist adapts the Markan material in ways comparable to the methods utilised by his literary contemporaries. He seems to adapt the material in this section so as to present a female character possessing discipleship characteristics which are possessed by other female characters and are comparable to the discipleship qualities of male characters in the gospel. [448] The author of the fourth gospel includes material in which Jesus' mother's actions betray the model discipleship qualities of belief and witness. Other female characters in the gospel also display similar traits. This is observed by E. Schüssler Fiorenza who notes that 'at crucial points in the narrative women emerge as exemplary disciples.'[449] These other women include the Samaritan woman who the author of the fourth gospel presents as believing in Jesus and testifying to others who in turn come to faith. He depicts the woman believing in Jesus on account of his ability to recall her marital past (John 4:16-17, 39b), she in turn testifies to the people in her town calling them to 'come' and 'see' Jesus (John 4:28-30), and these people in turn believe in Jesus on the basis of the woman's testimony (John 4:39a).[450] Moreover, the evangelist portrays Martha demonstrating her faith in Jesus following his identification of himself as the 'resurrection and the life' as she declares 'I believe you are the Christ the Son of God' (John 11:27b) and she in turn called her sister Mary who subsequently went to Jesus (John 11:28).[451] Finally, John depicts Mary Magdalene witnessing Jesus' resurrection and on Jesus' request testifying to the

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passage, Jesus says 'what do you and I have in common' (John 2:4) – Jesus is not her son and in the last passage, Jesus says 'behold your son' (John 20:26) – the Beloved Disciple is her son. Judith M. Lieu, "The Mother of the Son in the Fourth Gospel," *JBL* 117 (1998): 67, 69.

[448] M.M. Beirne argues that various female characters in the fourth gospel are presented by the fourth evangelist as being equal to male characters in terms of their discipleship qualities, and she includes Jesus' mother within this discussion. Margaret M. Beirne, *Women and Men in the Fourth Gospel: A Genuine Discipleship of Equals*., JSNTSup 242 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003). See also S. J. Nortjé, who writes 'The fourth gospel does not concern itself with questions like parity, equality, discrimination on the grounds of her sex, and so on. The evangelist subtly weaves her into the pattern of a man's world where she is as at home as he is. What more can and should one say? Why allocate roles to men and women when the evangelist is not concerned with such distinctions.' S.J (Lilly) Nortjé, "The Role of Women in the Fourth Gospel," *Neot.* 20 (1986): 27.

[449] Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1994), 326.

[450] Several scholars have suggested that this portrayal of the Samaritan woman presents her as possessing discipleship qualities. Such scholars include: Bennema, *Encountering* Jesus, 90-1. Beck, *The Discipleship Paradigm*, 57, 76. Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 327-28. Collins, *These Things have Been Written*, 17. Raymond E. Brown, "Roles of women in the Fourth Gospel," *TS* 36 (1975): 691-92.

[451] A few scholars have proposed that this presentation of Martha portrays her possessing discipleship characteristics. Such scholars include: Melvin R. Hillmer, "They believed in Him: Discipleship in the Johannine Tradition," in *Patterns of Discipleship in the New Testament*, ed. Richard N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 83. Bennema, *Encountering Jesus*, 147-48. Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 329.

disciples that she had seen the risen Jesus and told them all the things that Jesus had told to her in the garden (John 20:18).[452]

Signs

At the end of the passage, the author of the fourth gospel states 'this, the first of his signs, Jesus did at Cana in Galilee' (John 2:11a). There appears to be six signs in the first half of John's gospel. These appear to be as follows: Jesus changes water into wine which is defined by the fourth evangelist as Jesus' first sign (John 2:11), Jesus restores of the health of the officials son which is identified by the evangelist as Jesus' second sign (John 4:54), Jesus heals a paralysed man which is referred to by the author of the gospel as a sign (John 6:2), Jesus feeds five thousand people which is regarded by the people who benefited from the miracle as a sign (John 6:14), Jesus cures a man's blindness which is understood by the Jews as a sign (John 9:16); Jesus restores Lazarus' life which is comprehended by the chief priests and the Pharisees as a sign (John 11:47).[453] In the comparative analysis it has been suggested that the author of the fourth gospel adapts the Markan material in ways comparable to the methods employed by his literary contemporaries. He appears to adapt the material in this section in order to bring this material into line with the material found in the five other signs. For example, rather than presenting Jesus speaking allegorically about a wedding and wedding guests and about old wineskins and new wine and wineskins, the fourth evangelist portrays Jesus and his mother and disciples as guests at a physical wedding and depicts Jesus turning purification water into good wine. Through Jesus' physical act, the evangelist presents Jesus revealing himself and simultaneously revealing God and his offer of salvation and eternal life, and also

[452] A number of scholars have suggested that this portrayal of Mary Magdalene presents her as possessing discipleship qualities. Such scholars include: Hillmer, "They Believed in Him," 83. Bennema, *Encountering Jesus*, 201. Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 327,332. Brown "Roles of Women in the Fourth Gospel," 692.

[453] There remains debate concerning the number of signs in John's gospel. Brown proposes that there are seven signs: the wedding at Cana (John 1:1-11), the healing of the official's son (John 4:46-54), the healing of the paralytic (John 5:1-15), the feeding of the five thousand (John 6:5-14), the walking on water (John 6:16-24), the healing of the blind man (John 9:1-7), the raising of Lazarus (John 11:1-45). Brown, *The Gospel according to John I-XII*, 527. However, A.J. Köstenberger argues that the walking on water (John 6:16-24) is not a sign and rather suggests that the seventh sign is the cleansing of the temple (John 2:13-22). Andreas J. Köstenberger, "The Seventh Johannine Sign: A Study in John's Christology," *BBR* 5 (1995): 89, 101. Similarly, M. Girard proposes that the walking on water (John 6:16-24) is not a sign, yet proposes that the seventh sign is Jesus' death and particularly the incident of blood and water emerging from his pierced side (Jn 19.17-37). Marc Girard, "La composition structurelle des sept signes dans le quatrième évangile," *SR* 9 (1980): 317-18. Conversely, Fortna suggests that the feeding of the five thousand (John 6:5-14) and the walking on water (John 6:16-24) constituted one sign and in turn argues that the seventh sign is the miraculous catch of fish (John 21:1-14). Fortna, *Gospel of Signs*, 100-1. Finally, Carson agrees with Brown's seven signs, but proposes that Jesus' death and resurrection was also a sign, as he wrote 'the greatest sign of them all is the death, resurrection and exaltation of the incarnate Word.' Carson, *The Gospel according to John*, 661.

depicts the *sign* as evoking belief in those who were present.[454] These features also occur in the other *signs*. For example, in each of the other *signs* Jesus performs a physical act. In relation to the sign concerning the paralysed man Jesus declares that his works are the works of the Father (John 5:17) and in regard to the feeding of the five thousand Jesus states that his will is the will of God (John 6:38). Additionally, in relation to the sign concerning the blind man Jesus declares 'He was born blind so that God's works might be revealed in him' (John 9:3), and in regard to the raising of Lazarus Jesus states 'this illness ... is for the glory of God so that God may be glorified through it' (John 11:3). Finally, in relation to the healing of the official's son, the fourth evangelist portrays the official believing in Jesus after he had healed his son (John 4:53b), the blind man believes in Jesus after he returned his sight (John 9:38), and Martha believed in Jesus declaring him to be the Christ and the Son of God after he raised her brother Lazarus (John 11:27).

At the end of the first half of the gospel, the author of the fourth gospel explains that despite Jesus' *signs*, 'the Jews' 'still did not believe in him' (John 12:37b); however, at the end of the second half of the gospel, the evangelist references Jesus' *signs* (John 20:30) and explains to the audience of the gospel that the signs are for their benefit so that they might believe in Jesus and this believe in God and by doing so receive eternal life from Jesus and from God (John 20:31). This is adeptly conveyed by Thompson: 'ultimately life comes *from* God, but *through* Jesus; and faith which leads to life is faith through Jesus, but in God.'[455]

Summary of Findings

The author of the fourth gospel seems to adapt his Markan source material in ways comparable to the techniques laid out by Quintilian and employed by his literary contemporaries. In the foregoing discussion it has been demonstrated that the proposed adaptations made by the fourth evangelist can be accounted for in light of his wider literary aims. The author of John's gospel appears to have adapted the material the Markan material concerning a metaphorical wedding with wedding guests and an allegorical statement about old wineskins and new wine and wineskins in order to introduce to motif of the 'hour' and commence the larger theme of *signs*, and also present female characters possessing discipleship qualities.

[454] F. Neirynck proposes that Jesus' *sign* in which he heals the paralytic is an adaptation of Mark's story where Jesus' similarly heals a paralytic. Frans Neirynck, "John and the Synoptics: 1975-1990," in *John and the Synoptics*, ed. Adelbert Denaux (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), 53-5. Additionally, Mackay suggests that Jesus' *sign* in which he multiplies bread and fish is an adaptation of Mark's story where Jesus likewise multiplies bread and fish. Mackay, *John's Relationship with Mark*, 151-289.

[455] Thompson, "Signs and Faith in the Fourth Gospel," 95.

V. The Incident in the Temple: John 2:13-22

Following Jesus' first *sign* in Cana of Galilee, the fourth evangelist presents Jesus causing a disturbance in the temple in Jerusalem. In John's gospel this is Jesus' first public act, while in Mark's gospel this is Jesus' last public act before his death. Through comparing the two passages there are some points of similarity between the Markan and Johannine account of Jesus' temple disturbance; however, there are also a number of notable differences. On account of these differences, Gardner-Smith, I. Buse, and Brown posit that the second and fourth evangelists draw on similar yet independent traditions regarding Jesus' act in the temple which they independently positioned in their own gospels.[456]

There has also been a longstanding proposal that Mark and John did not draw on independent material concerning the same event, but that they drew on material concerning two different events, namely that Jesus disturbed temple proceedings twice.[457] This position has been taken up again by Carson, Köstenberger, and Klink who argue that the significant differences between the Markan and Johannine stories suggest that the evangelists were writing about two separate events.[458] Recently, A. Chapple has similarly argued that there were two temple incidents on the basis of the notable differences between Mark and John's accounts.[459] Chapple interestingly argues that it is unlikely that John resituates the position of the temple incident on the basis that there is no other instance where John so radically moves Markan material.[460] Thus, he posits that it is more likely that there were two separate events, than that the fourth evangelist decides to employ on this one-off occasion the compositional technique of material transposition.

Conversely, D. Seeley argues that the account of Jesus' act in the temple in Mark's gospel does not reflect historical reality, but rather evidences a Markan composition.[461] While this is undoubtedly a contested proposal,[462] for the purposes of this study, Seeley does argue that John uses Mark's material and elaborates upon it:[463]

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[456] Gardner-Smith, *Saint John and the Synoptic Gospels*, 12-6. Ivor Buse, "The Cleansing of the Temple in the Synoptics and in John," *ExpT* 70 (1958): 24. Brown, *The Gospel according to John I-XII*, 118-20.

[457] This position was held by B.S. Westcott who wrote his commentary on John's gospel in 1896. Brooke Foss Westcott, *The Gospel according to St John: with Introduction and Notes* (London: John Murray, 1896), 44.

[458] Carson, *The Gospel according to John*, 177-9. Andreas J. Köstenberger, *John* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004), 111. Klink, *John*, 176-78.

[459] Allan Chapple, "Jesus' Intervention in the Temple: Once or Twice?," *JETS* 58 (2015): 546-51.

[460] Chapple, "Jesus' Intervention in the Temple: Once or Twice?," 551-52.

[461] Mark Seeley, "Jesus' Temple Act," *CBQ* 55 (1993):263-83.

[462] For a response to Seeley's article see Maurice Casey, "Culture and Historicity: The Cleansing of the Temple," *CBQ* 59 (1997): 306-32.

[463] Barrett and Lincoln both argue for John's use and adaptation of Mark's temple account. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 194. Lincoln, *The Gospel according to St John*, 143-44.

> John 2:13-22 seems to be later than Mark 11:15-19. In fact, everything in the former can readily be seen as an elaboration of the Marcan version or as typical of the Johannine tradition. For instance, John 2:14-15 looks like a reiteration of Mark 11:15, with some expansion and novelistic touches added.38 Mark 11:17 vaguely reminds one of Zech 14:21, whereas John 2:16 refers to it plainly, a fact which could represent a decision to focus on the passage and clarify it. Verse 18 recalls Mark 11:28, and verse 19 recalls Mark 14:58. John 2:17 contains the typical Johannine motif of remembrance, and John 2:20-22 exhibits the customary Johannine mistaking of figurative speech for literal speech.[464]

Therefore, the following analysis seeks to suggest that John used the Markan material concerning Jesus' disruption of temple proceedings. This will be achieved by assessing the use and deliberate adaptation of source material in light of ancient literary compositional practices, particularly in regard to the compositional methods utilised by the fourth evangelist's literary contemporaries.

i. Comparative Analysis

John 2:13-16 and Mark 11:15-17

In Mark's gospel Jesus' temple act is positioned at the end of his public ministry and represents his final public act, while in John's gospel Jesus' temple act is situated at the beginning of his public ministry and reflects his first public act. The author of John's gospel appears to follow Mark's structure up until this point at which point he notably transposes the positioning of the Markan material and resituates the temple incident in an earlier narrative position. This proposed method of source use and adaptation appears to align with the technique of transposing material from its original position in the source material as evidenced in the works of Tacitus where with Claudius' speech he moves material from the beginning of the speech in the source material to the end of the speech in his own rendering of the oration. Additionally, it is also evidenced in the works of Josephus where he moves material concerning the Philistines from a later position in the source text to an earlier position in his own narrative. It is evidenced in the Gospel of Peter where the author moves material regarding Joseph of Arimathea from a later to an earlier narrative position. Finally, the practice also aligns with technique of structural rearrangement presented in Theon's pedagogical handbook. Moreover, the second and the fourth evangelists both present Jesus on his first visit to Jerusalem entering the temple's outer courts (ἱερόν) during the time of Passover (Mark 11:15a // John 2:13-14a). Additionally, both authors offer similar but not identical accounts of Jesus' ensuing actions:

[464] Seeley, "Jesus' Temple Act," 272.

Mark 11:15-17	John 2:14-16
Καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. Καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἤρξατο ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς πωλοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἀγοράζοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ τὰς τραπέζας τῶν κολλυβιστῶν καὶ τὰς καθέδρας τῶν πωλούντων τὰς περιστερὰς κατέστρεψεν, καὶ οὐκ ἤφιεν ἵνα τις διενέγκῃ σκεῦος διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. καὶ ἐδίδασκεν καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· οὐ γέγραπται ὅτι ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ πεποιήκατε αὐτὸν σπήλαιον λῃστῶν.	Καὶ εὗρεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοὺς πωλοῦντας βόας καὶ πρόβατα καὶ περιστερὰς καὶ τοὺς κερματιστὰς καθημένους, καὶ ποιήσας φραγέλλιον ἐκ σχοινίων πάντας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τά τε πρόβατα καὶ τοὺς βόας, καὶ τῶν κολλυβιστῶν ἐξέχεεν τὸ κέρμα καὶ τὰς τραπέζας ἀνέτρεψεν, καὶ τοῖς τὰς περιστερὰς πωλοῦσιν εἶπεν· ἄρατε ταῦτα ἐντεῦθεν, μὴ ποιεῖτε τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρός μου οἶκον ἐμπορίου.
And they came to Jerusalem and having entered the temple he began to cast out those selling and those buying in the temple and overturned the tables of the money changers and those selling doves. And he would not permit anyone to carry a vessel though the temple. And he began teaching and was saying to them ‘is it not written, my house will be called a house of prayer for all nations? However, you have made it a den of robbers.’	And he found in the temple those selling oxen and sheep and doves and the money changers sitting. And having made a whip of cords he drove out from the temple both sheep and oxen and he poured out the coins of the money changers and overturned their tables. And to those selling doves he said ‘take these things from here, do not make my Fathers’ house a house of trade.’

Through comparing this material it appears that the fourth evangelist does not copy his source verbatim, but rather deliberately rewrites the contents of his Markan source. This proposed method of source use and adaptation is evidenced notably in the works of Plutarch and Tacitus where the authors rewrite their source material in order to create their own new piece of writing. Josephus and the author of the Gospel of Peter also paraphrase their source material; however, the fourth evangelist seems to be closer to Plutarch and Tacitus’ practice of thorough rewriting. One important and deliberate example of John’s rewriting in this instance is the recasting of the words spoken by Jesus. Both evangelists present Jesus criticising the commercialism in the temple. In Mark’s gospel, Jesus quotes scripture and says ‘is it not written, my house will be called a house of prayer for all nations? However, you have made it a den of robbers’ (Mark 11.17), while in John’s gospel Jesus quotes scripture and says ‘take these things from here, do not make my Fathers’ house a house of trade.’ (John 2:16). In the Markan account, Jesus’ words are a combination of material from LXX Isaiah and Jeremiah: ‘My house shall be called a house of prayers for all nations’ (Isa 56:7c) and ‘Has this house, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers in your eyes?’ (Jer 7:11).[465] In the Johannine account, Jesus’ words seem to be inspired by LXX Zechariah: ‘And there shall no longer be a trader in the house of the Lord of hosts on that day’ (Zech 14:21b).[466] M.A. Matson reflects on the fourth evangelist’s use of scriptural allusions. He observes:

[465] Steve Moyise, “Composite Citations in the Gospel of Mark,” in *Composite Citations in Antiquity: New Testament Uses*, ed. Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn., LNTS 461 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2018), 25-6.

[466] Adam Kubiś, *The Book of Zechariah in the Gospel of John* (Paris: Gabalda, 2012), 319. Maarten J J. Menken, “Allusions to the Minor Prophets in the Fourth Gospel,” *Neot* 44 (2010): 74. On the other

> In every case, the Temple Incident should probably not be understood as a critique of the current Temple practices, but rather should be seen as a prophetic symbolic act pointing to God's eschatological intervention which would involve the Temple. In the Synoptics, the Isaiah citation seems to suggest a coming time when the Temple would be open to all peoples, not just the Jewish people……..I suggest that John's version of the Temple Incident supports that same understanding; that is, that Jesus' action in the Temple was primarily prophetic, and one referring to God's coming eschatological activity on behalf of His people.[467]

Both Mark and John portray Jesus referring to a new future temple. The second evangelist achieves this by constructing Jesus' words from the words of the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, while the fourth evangelist accomplishes this by constructing Jesus' words from the words of the prophet Zechariah. This suggested method of source use and adaptation appears to align with the practice of altering the words spoken by primary characters as evidenced in the words of Plutarch and Josephus, and also the Gospel of Peter, where the authors change the words which are placed on the protagonists' lips. The fourth evangelist's decision to employ allusions from Zechariah may simply stem from his authorial preferences. W.R. Bynum and Menken observe that the fourth evangelist shows a preference for employing material from Zechariah 9-14.[468]

John 2:17-22 and Mark 11:18, 27-23; 14:58

The second and the fourth evangelists both continue their accounts concerning Jesus' disruption of the temple proceedings by linking the temple incident with Jesus' death, by presenting Jewish figures as misunderstanding, and by continuing with the notion of a new temple. Mark connects Jesus' temple disruption with his death by simply stating 'And the chief priests and the scribes heard it [that is, Jesus' foregoing statement] and were seeking a way to destroy him.' (Mark 11:18a) and subsequently in the passion narrative the Jewish authorities seek to kill Jesus through false accusations concerning the temple's destruction (Mark 14:58). John connects Jesus' temple disruption with his death by introducing Jesus' disciples and presenting them as remembering the words of scripture: 'Zeal for your house will consume me' (John

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hand Schnackenburg states that Jesus' statement 'arises out of the situation and contains no direct allusion to a text of Scripture.' Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to John*, 347. Similarly, Morris argues that Jesus' statement contains no scriptural material and in addition states that John's pericope has no connection to Mark's temple pericope. Morris, *The Gospel according to John*, 166-67.

[467] Mark A. Matson, "The Temple Incident: An Integrated Element in the Fourth Gospel's Narrative," in *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, ed. Robert T. Fortna and Tom Thatcher (Atlanta; Richmond, VA: John Knox, 2001), 147.

[468] William R. Bynum, "Quotations of Zechariah in the Fourth Gospel," in *Abiding Words: The Use of Scripture in the Fourth Gospel*, ed. Alicia D. Myers and Bruce C. Schuchard (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 47. Maarten J J. Menken, "The Minor Prophets in John's Gospel," in *The Minor Prophets in the New Testament*, ed. Maarten J J. Menken and Steve Moyise., LNTS 377 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2009), 79.

2:17).[469] Lincoln observes that by alluding to material in the Psalms (Ps 69:9), the evangelist not only 'comment[s] on the burning intensity of Jesus' zeal but [also] make[s] the point that his zealous activity in the temple would be what would consume Jesus in the sense of leading to his destruction in death.'[470] The author of the fourth gospel appears to draw on the idea of Jesus' temple disruption being associated with his death, but notably changes the way in which this notion is communicated. This proposed method of source use and adaptation aligns with the general technique whereby authors contemporaneous with the fourth evangelist thoroughly rewrite their source material to create their own new narrative.

Both gospel authors subsequently present Jewish figures questioning Jesus concerning his authority to act in such a way in the temple and in turn portray Jesus responding in a manner which causes confusion. The second evangelist depicts the chief priests, the scribes, and the elders asking Jesus 'by what authority are you doing these things or who gave you authority to do them?' (Mark 11:28) to which Jesus responds 'was the baptism of John from heaven or from man?' (Mark 11:30) and after discussion they respond 'we do not know' (Mark 11:33a). The Jewish authorities do not understand that just as John the Baptist's authority came from God, Jesus' authority also comes from God. The fourth evangelist describes 'the Jews' asking Jesus 'what sign do you show us for doing these things?' (John 2:18) to which Jesus replies 'destroy this temple and in three days I will build it up' (John 2:19), to which 'the Jews' in turn respond 'it has taken forty-six years to build this temple and you will raise it up in three days?' (John 2:20). 'The Jews' do not understand that Jesus' authority comes through his identity as God (John 1:1,18), they do not appreciate that Jesus will rebuild the temple in three days as they do not comprehend that through his resurrected being he becomes the entity through which God is revealed and can be worshiped (cf. John 2:21). Jesus' response to 'the Jews' in the fourth gospel is somewhat comparable to the Jewish authorities' false accusation in the second gospel:

Mark 14:58	John 2:19
Ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τὸν χειροποίητον καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον οἰκοδομήσω.	Λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ αὐτόν.
I will destroy this temple that is made with hands and in three days I will build another not made with hands.	Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise up another.

In regard to this material it might be proposed that the author of the fourth gospel draws on the notion of Jewish figures misunderstanding Jesus' temple action, but

[469] John has utilised the Psalms citation and has changed the verb to the future tense – 'will consume' (καταφάγεταί) rather than 'has consumed' in the perfect (אֲכָלָתְנִי) (MT Ps 69.9) or 'has consumed' in the aorist (κατέφαγέν) (LXX Ps 68.9a).

[470] Lincoln, *The Gospel according to St John*, 138.

rewrites the scenario in his own way, and it might also be suggested that the evangelist draws on the motif of the temple being destroyed and reconstructed in three days, but similarly recasts that in his own way. In the Markan account the Jewish authorities falsely accuse Jesus of threating to destroy the temple and 'build' (οἰκοδομέω) it up again in three days, while in the Johannine account Jesus taunts 'the Jews' to destroy the temple and claims that he will 'raise it up' (ἐγείρω) in three days; Jesus' resurrected body, which 'the Jews' previously crucified, will be the new temple which is raised up. M.L. Coloe reflects on this in light of the assertion concerning Jesus' identity in the Johannine prologue (John 1:1, 18) and she in turn notes 'because of his relationship with the Father, Jesus is the new οἶκος τοῦ Θεοῦ, for in him the glory of God is present and accessible to human experience.'[471] This proposed method of source use and adaptation firstly parallels with the technique of altering the words and actions of secondary characters as evidenced in the works of Plutarch, and secondly it aligns with the technique of subtly altering the words spoken by a protagonist to significantly change the meaning of the words as evidenced in the works of Josephus and in the Gospel of Peter.

Finally, the fourth evangelist appears to add a final statement which seems to be written from a post resurrection perspective and reflects on the disciples' act of remembering: 'when therefore he was raised from the dead, his disciples remembered that he had said this and they believed the Scripture and the word that Jesus had spoken' (John 2:22). This proposed method of source use and adaptation appears to parallel with the technique of adding small sections of material to the source material as evidenced in the works of Josephus and in the Gospel of Peter where the authors add small sections of material concerning secondary characters.

Summary of Findings

There are a number of differences between the Markan and Johannine accounts of Jesus' temple disputation as well as some significant similarities. The obvious differences between the two stories have led Gardner-Smith, Buse, and Brown to posit that the evangelists draw on independent tradition concerning the temple. The differences have also led Carson, Köstenberger, Chapple, and Klink to argue that the stories must refer to two different events. However, these differences along with the similarities may reflect the fourth evangelist's thorough reworking of the Markan material as proposed by Seeley. In the foregoing comparison of the second and fourth gospels it has been proposed that the fourth evangelist seems to use and adapt Mark in ways comparable to the manner in which his literary contemporaries worked with source material. In methods similar to those set out Theon by and those utilised by Plutarch, Josephus, and the author of the Gospel of Peter, the author of the fourth gospel appears to thoroughly adapt his source material. He does not copy Mark verbatim, rather he thoroughly reworks the contents of Mark's material.

[471] Mary L. Coloe, *God Dwells with Us: Temple Symbolism in the Fourth Gospel* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2001), 73.

Additionally, he utilises a combination of techniques within this individual pericope: the transposition of material from the end of his source text to the beginning of his own narrative. Chapple argues for two temple incidents on the basis that there is no evidence that John transposes material in this fashion; however, there is evidence that this is a technique often utilised by the evangelist's literary contemporaries. He also employs the method of notable alteration of the words of the protagonist, the significant alteration of the words and actions of secondary characters, and the addition of small pieces of unparalleled material. Therefore, John appears to follow ancient compositional practice by using and freely adapting Markan material.

ii. Explanatory Analysis

Within this section the proposed adaptations made by the fourth evangelist to his Markan source shall be explored in light of the author's wider literary aims in order to account for John's likely adaptation of his source material.

Jesus as the fulfilment/replacement of the Temple

The motif of fulfilment/replacement theology is prevalent in the fourth gospel. This is observed by Brown who writes that the fourth gospel 'shows the importance given to the theme of Jesus' replacement of Jewish institutions like ritual purification, the Temple, and worship in Jerusalem (chs. ii-iv) and of Jewish feasts like Sabbath, Passover, Tabernacles, and Dedication (chs. v-x).'[472] Additionally, in relation to the temple specifically, A.R. Kerr asserts 'the Johannine Jesus replaces and fulfils the Jerusalem temple and its cultic activity.'[473] In the comparative analysis it has been proposed that the fourth evangelist adapts the Markan material in ways comparable to the methods utilised by his literary contemporaries. He appears to adapt the material in this section so as to introduce the idea of Jesus as the new temple which is developed further in the subsequent narrative.

In chapter 2, the author of the fourth gospel presents Jesus explaining through conversation with 'the Jews' that his resurrected body would be the new temple, Jesus introduces Nicodemus to the notion of the true worship of him (Jesus) in chapter 3, and in chapter 4, the fourth evangelist portrays Jesus substantiating through conversation with the Samaritan woman that he would be the new entity of worship. In chapter two, John depicts Jesus telling the Jews that he would raise up the temple in three days as the new temple would be his resurrected body (John 2:19b, 21). In chapter four, the evangelist describes Jesus telling the Samaritan woman that the hour was coming, his death and resurrection, after which 'true worshippers will worship the Father in spirit and truth' (John 4:23). Jesus' latter statement is interpreted by Kerr who explains that notes '"worship in spirit and truth" is equivalent to "worship in Jesus"' as 'the spirit is the spirit of Jesus, who testifies to

[472] Brown, *The Gospel According to John I-XII*, lxx.

[473] Alan R. Kerr, *The Temple of Jesus' Body: The Temple Theme in the Gospel of John*., JSNTSup 220 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 2.

Jesus and glorifies Jesus (15:26; 16:13-15). Jesus is the truth, the definitive revelation of God.'[474] Therefore, the fourth evangelist presents Jesus as the replacement of the temple as the place where the Father would be worshipped. Additionally, he also portrays Jesus replacing other features associated with the temple cult. For example, Jesus is portrayed as replacing the Jewish High Priest, as just as the High Priest would sacrifice an animal for the sins of Israel (Lev 15:16), Jesus sacrifices himself as a lamb for the sin of the world (John 1:29, 34),[475] and just as a High Priest would wear a seamless garment representing the unity of Israel (Exod 28), Jesus' seamless robe which he wears at his crucifixion (John 19:23b) perhaps represents the unity of the children of God which his death would accomplish (John 11:52).[476] Moreover, Jesus is depicted as replacing the Jewish Paschal sacrifice as he is he referred to by John the Witness as a lamb (John 1:29, 34), Jesus refers to his own death as being sacrificial (John 10:11; 15:13), Caiaphas refers to Jesus' death as being sacrificial (John 11:50), he is crucified in the eve of the Passover when the lambs were slain (John 19:14, 31, 42 cf. John 18:28, 39), and Jesus' unbroken bones recalls the unbroken bones of the Paschal lamb (John 19:32-33). Moreover, throughout the gospel Jesus is depicted by the evangelist as fulfilling and replacing Jewish feasts and festivals,[477] Jewish figures,[478] and the Jewish Scriptures.[479]

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[474] Kerr, *The Temple of Jesus' Body: The Temple Theme in the Gospel of John*, 195. A similar interpretation is offered by Lincoln who explains 'since Jesus is the giver of the Spirit and the embodiment of truth, worship in Spirit and truth is also worship centred in and mediated by Jesus.' Lincoln, *The Gospel according to St John*, 177-8. Conversely, Brown proposes that to worship in spirit and truth refers to a new mode of worship rather than to a new entity of worship. In this regard he writes 'in ii.21 it was Jesus himself who was to take the place of the temple, and here it is the spirit given by Jesus that is to animate the worship that replaces the worship at the Temple'. Brown, *The Gospel according to John I-XII*, 180. For a more extensive discussion of this position see Benny Thettayil, *In Spirit and Truth: An Exegetical Study of John 4:19-26 and a Theological Investigation of the Replacement Theme in the Fourth Gospel* (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 106-65. S.T. Um offers yet another interpretation. He writes 'God as the source and giver of all life… is the living God, who exists from his own life rather than from another source, and this feature sets him apart as the one God, unique in his personal identity of self-continuity. Therefore, to worship him "in Spirit and truth" (ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ) is to share and to be united in God's own eternal life by being identified with the means of that new creational life, which he has revealed in the new eschatological Temple, namely Jesus Christ.' Stephen T. Um, *The Theme of Temple Christology in the Gospel of John*., LNTS 312 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2006), 173.

[475] Kathleen Troost-Cramer, *Jesus as a Means and Locus of Worship in the Fourth Gospel: Sacrifice and Worship Space in John* (Pittsburgh; Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2017), 2. John P. Heil, "Jesus as the Unique High Priest in the Gospel of John," *CBQ* 57 (1995): 731-35.

[476] Helen K. Bond, "Discarding the seamless Robe: The High Priesthood of Jesus in John's gospel," in *Israel's God and Rebecca's Children: Christology and Community in Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. David B. Capes, et al. (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2017), 183-94. Heil, "Jesus as the Unique High Priest in the Gospel of John," 741-44.

[477] See for example, Gale A. Yee, *Jewish Feasts and the Gospel of John* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1989), 31-82.

[478] For example see Boismard, *Moses Or Jesus: An Essay in Johannine Christology*.

[479] See for example, Francis J. Moloney, "The Gospel of John: The 'End' of Scripture," *Interp.* 63 (2009): 357-66.

Remembrance

In the fourth gospel, the author reflects on the disciples' remembrance of Jesus' words from a post resurrection perspective. In the comparative analysis it has been proposed that the fourth evangelist adapts the Markan material in ways comparable to the methods utilised by his literary contemporaries. In chapter 2, the author of the gospel of John appears to include material concerning the disciples' act of remembrance. Jesus' disciples are firstly depicted as remembering a citation from the Psalms on account of Jesus' scriptural statement concerning the temple (John 2:17), and secondly they are described as remembering Jesus' temple logion after his resurrection (John 2:22). The disciples' second act of remembrance clearly occurs following his death and resurrection; however, there remains debate as to whether the disciples remembered the citation from the Psalms immediately after Jesus' scriptural statement to the temple traders or whether it occurred after his death and resurrection. A.D. Myers offers three reasons for considering that the disciples remembered Psalm 69:9 immediately after Jesus' actions. Firstly, she observes that John does not indicate that the remembrance in 2:17 occurred at a different time as he does in 2:22. Secondly, she recognises that the disciples' reaction in 2:17 parallels the reaction of 'the Jews' in 2:18-19 which occurred immediately. Thirdly, she notices that the disciples' remembrance of scripture in relation to Jesus conforms with the presentation of other characters in the gospel who similarly make a connection between Jesus and scripture (e.g. John 1:23, 29, 36, 45, 51).[480] Conversely, M.A. Daise posits that the disciples' remembering in John 2:17 should be considered as a post resurrection remembrance as when it is considered alongside John 2:19 and 2:22 it forms a parallel with John 12:13, 12:15, 12:16, and the remembrance of the disciples in John 2:22 and 12:16 is evidently a post resurrection act.[481] The parallel and inclusio formed may be illustrated as follows:

[480] Alicia D. Myers, *Characterising Jesus: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Fourth Gospel's Use of Scripture in its Presentation of Jesus*., LNTS 458 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2012), 144. For the proposal that the disciples remembered the scripture immediately following Jesus' temple act see Maarten J J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996), 42.

[481] Michael A. Daise, "Quotation with 'Remembrance' Formulae in the Fourth Gospel," in *Abiding Words: The Use of Scripture in the Fourth Gospel*, ed. Alicia D. Myers and Bruce C. Schuchard (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 86. For the proposal that John 2:17, 2:19, and 2:22 from an inclusio with John 12:13, 12:15, and 12:16 and refer to a post resurrection act of remembrance see also Judith M. Lieu, "Narrative Analysis and Scripture in John," in *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J.L. North*, ed. Steve Moyise., JSNTSup 189 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 150-2.

John 2:17, 19, 22	John 12:13, 15, 16
His disciples remembered that it is written 'Zeal your house will consume me' (John 2:17) (Ps 68:9).	And they took palm branches and went out to meet him and they were shouting 'hosanna blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord and the King of Israel' (John 12:13).
Jesus answered and said to them 'Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up' (John 2:19).	Just as it is written 'Fear not daughter of Zion. Behold your King comes siting on a colt of a donkey' (John 13:14b-15) (Zech 9:9).
Therefore, when he was raised from the dead his disciples remembered this that he had said and they believed the scripture and word that he had spoken' (John 2:22).	His disciples did not know these things form the first, but when Jesus was glorified then they remembered that these things were written of him and these things that had been done to him' (John 12:16).

In chapter 12, the author of the fourth gospel explains that after Jesus' death and resurrection his disciples remembered the words of the prophet Zechariah and remembered the homage paid to Jesus as he entered Jerusalem. Similarly, it seems in chapter 2 that the fourth evangelist explains that following Jesus' death and resurrection his disciples remembered and believed in his temple logion and remembered and believed in the words of the Psalmist.[482] Following Daise's observation, it seems that the fourth evangelist has adapted the material within this section so as to commence his theme of 'remembrance' which he will develop later in the gospel. The theme of remembrance is later developed in the gospel in relation to material concerning the Paraclete. Daise observes this as he notes that 'the quotations are tethered to Johannine pneumatology.'[483] Following Jesus' promise of the Paraclete, he describes the Paraclete as the one who would following Jesus' departure teach the disciples all things and will bring them to remembrance of the things Jesus had said to them (John 14:26b).

The early positioning of the temple incident

In Mark's gospel, Jesus' act within the temple is placed near the end of the gospel and represents his final public act (Mark 11:15-18ff), while in John's gospel Jesus' act within the temple is placed near the beginning of the gospel and represents his first public act (John 2:13-22). In the comparative analysis it has been suggested that the author of the fourth gospel adapts the Markan material in ways comparable to the

[482] Several commentators have understood the reference to the scripture in John 2:22 to refer to Psalm 69:9 in John 2:17. Lincoln, *The Gospel according to St John*, 141. Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 179. Lindars, *The Gospel of John*, 144. Beasley- Murray, *John*, 41. However, M. Labahn understands the reference to scripture to refer not to a specific scriptural passage but to refer to scripture in a more general sense. Michael Labahn, "Scripture Talks because Jesus Talks: The Narrative Rhetoric of Persuading and Creativity in John's Use of Scripture," in *The Fourth Gospel in First-Century Media Culture*, ed. Antony Le Donne and Tom Thatcher., LNTS 426 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2012), 152.

[483] Daise, "Quotation with 'Remembrance' Formulae in the Fourth Gospel," 86.

methods utilised by his literary contemporaries. John appears to resituate the Markan temple incident in an earlier position within his own narrative; however, contrary to Chapple's assertion, there are other instances where John seems to resituate Markan passion material in earlier position in his own gospel. For example, Mark depicts Jesus' prayer to God concerning the hour in Gethsemane as occurring before his arrest (Mark 14:32-36), while John describes Jesus in interaction with God concerning his hour at the end of the first half of the gospel (John 12:27). Mark presents Jesus describing the opening of the heaven during his Jewish trial (Mark 14:63), while John brings this notion forward and portrays Jesus describing the opening of the heaven to Nathanael near the beginning of the gospel (John 1:51). Mark portrays the high priest questioning Jesus concerning his identity as the Christ during his trail (Mark 14:61), whilst John brings this questioning forward and presents 'the Jews' questioning Jesus concerning his identity as the Christ during his public ministry (John 10:22-30). Mark depicts Jesus during his trial being accused of blasphemy by the high priest (Mark 14:63), while John brings this accusation forward and describes Jesus being accused of blasphemy by 'the Jews' during his ministry (John 10:33). Mark describes Caiaphas making his judgement at the end of Jesus' Jewish trial (Mark 14:53-64), whilst John brings this judgement forward and depicts Caiaphas making his judgement following Jesus' final sign (John 11:47-53).[484]

Moreover, the early placing of the temple incident allows the fourth evangelist to introduce themes which will be developed through the gospel. This is observed by Coloe:

> The temple cleaning and logion make explicit the hermetical key for understanding the Johannine use of the Temple as a narrative symbol. A possible reason why the temple cleansing is so early in the Fourth Gospel is because this pericope provides the reader with both an explicit hermetical key for interpreting the Johannine Jesus as the new "Temple" and a paradigm for further scenes in the use of Johannine symbolism and misunderstandings.[485]

Summary of Findings

The author of the fourth gospel seems to adapt his Markan source material in ways comparable to the methods set out by Theon and the techniques employed by his literary contemporaries. In the foregoing discussion it has been demonstrated that the proposed adaptations made by the fourth evangelist can be accounted for in light of his wider literary aims. The author of John's gospel appears to adapt the Markan material so as to introduce the notion of Jesus replacing and fulfilling the temple which is developed throughout the gospel and to introduce the motif of remembrance. Additionally, contrary to Chapple's claim that the author of the fourth gospel

[484] Raymond E. Brown, "Incidents that are units in the Synoptic Gospels but dispersed in St. John," *CBQ* 23 (1961):143-60.
[485] Coloe, *God Dwells with Us*, 84.

transposes the position of no other material, it has been illustrated that the evangelist moves other sections of Markan passion material to earlier sections in his own gospel and in the same fashion his moves the temple material forward so as to introduce the theme of Jesus as the new temple.

Conclusion to Part Two

The foregoing analysis in this second part of the study has compared John 1:1-2:22 to comparable material in Mark's gospel and has assessed the relationship between the two gospels in light of the methods of source use and adaptation laid out in part one. The pedagogical handbooks of first century CE rhetoricians and the works of contemporaneous authors assessed in part one demonstrate the free use of source material and the similarities and differences between the Johannine and Markan material seem to suggest John's utilisation of such adaptive techniques. John does not use Mark in the same way that Matthew and Luke use Mark, rather his methods of source use are much closer to the practices set out by Theon and Quintilian and the methods employed by Plutarch, Tacitus, Josephus, and the author of the Gospel of Peter.

The analysis of the first two chapters of John's gospel, in comparison with Mark's, demonstrates that the fourth evangelist sets out to create his own new gospel; most notably he has his own distinctive presentation of Jesus that he wishes to communicate. The author of the fourth gospel seems to be dependent on the material in Mark's gospel, but thoroughly recasts in line with his authorial aims. This approach is in keeping with that recommended by Quintilian in his *Institutio Oratoria* in which he encourages writers to draw on the work of their predecessors but to surpass the work of their predecessors (Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.2.1-28).

The preceding analysis has shown that the material in John's gospel shares almost no verbal similarities with Mark, and this was also shown to be the case with the works and the sources of the four authors in part one. Plutarch, Tacitus, Josephus, and the author of the Gospel of Peter all rewrite, to varying degrees, their source material so as to create their own new narrative. However, in the fourth gospel there is one exception which concerns the sandals saying. Within this saying the evangelist in part directly parallels Mark verbally, but also in part varies in language. An occurrence of this nature is reflected notably in Plutarch's use of Thucydides and also the author of the Gospel of Peter's use of Mark where the authors in part copy their source material directly and also in part paraphrase their source material. The practice of paraphrase is also laid out in Theon's rhetorical handbook.

In part one the adaptive methods set out by Theon and Quintilian in their pedagogical handbooks were illustrated. Additionally, it was demonstrated that the four authors contemporaneous with the fourth evangelist recast their source material to create their own new narrative by using combination of techniques. These were classified as additions, omissions, alterations, and transpositions. Through comparing the material in John to the material in Mark it had been suggested that the similarities and differences between the two gospels can be accounted for on account of John's use of similar techniques:

i. Additions – *The addition of unparalleled material to the source material*: The fourth evangelist seems to add short phrases: John's statement about Jesus as the Lamb of God (John 1:29), Philip's incorrect christological statement (John 1:45b), Jesus' statement to Simon and Nathanael (John 1:42b, 47b, 51), and Jesus' mother's statement to the wedding attendants (John 2:5). This technique aligns with the author of the Gospel of Peter's technique of adding short phrases to the lips of his characters. Additionally, John appears to add a short phrase about the disciples' remembering which as a technique aligns with Josephus' method of adding short unparalleled statements to his source material. The author of the fourth gospel also appears to add a small (1-5 lines in printed text) section unparalleled material concerning Jesus' interaction with Andrew Philip, and seems to add medium (5-20 lines in printed text) and large (20 or more lines of printed text) sections of unparalleled material to the prologue (John 1:2-5, 9-18). These techniques parallel with the method of the addition of unparalleled material utilised by Plutarch, Tacitus, Josephus, and the author of the Gospel of Peter where the authors add material concerning their protagonists, secondary characters, and events. They also align with Quintilian's suggestion of addition as part of his practice of literary imitation, and Theon's practice of expansion.

ii. Omissions – *The omission of material in the source material*: The author of the fourth gospel seems to remove Mark's temptation scene (Mark 1:12-13) and Mark's series of healing and teaching stories (Mark 1:21-2:17). This technique aligns with Plutarch and Tacitus' method of removing medium (5-20 lines in printed text) and large (20 or more lines in the printed text) sections of material which do not suit their own authorial aims. This method also reflects Quintilian's recommendation to use the method of omission as part of his practice of literary imitation.

iii. Alterations – *The retention and alteration of aspects in the source material*: The fourth evangelist seems to significantly alter the general presentation of his protagonist Jesus and also seems to alter his words and actions (e.g. Λόγος (John 1:1) rather than Christ and Son of God (Mark 1:1), Jesus' temple logion alludes to Zechariah (John 2:16) rather than alluding to Isaiah and Jeremiah (Mark 11:17b), and Jesus changes purification water into wine (John 2:6-10) rather than metaphorically speaking about old wineskins and new wine (Mark 2:22)). Additionally, the evangelist also appears to significantly alter the general presentation of his secondary character John (the Baptist) and he appears to alter the words and actions of John (e.g. John is a witness (John 1:6-8) rather than being a baptist (Mark 1:2-8), and John witnesses to Jesus (John 1:29-37) rather than baptising Jesus (Mark 1:9-11)). This technique of significantly altering the portrayal of a protagonist and of secondary characters parallels with the technique of Plutarch were he notably alters the words, actions, and motivations of his protagonists Fabius Maximus and Nicias in order to bolster their positive or negative

presentations, and he also significantly alters the words, actions, and motivations of his secondary character Hannibal. Additionally, it parallels with Josephus' practice where he notably alters the words and actions of his protagonist Mattathias, and the author of the Gospel of Peter where his significantly alters the words of the wrongdoers on the cross beside Jesus. Furthermore, the author of the fourth gospel seems to make small alterations to wording which results in a significant change to the meaning of the material (e.g. the spirit descended and remained on Jesus (John 1:32b) rather than the spirit simply descending on Jesus (Mark 1:10b), Jesus says he will raise up (ἐγείρω) the temple in three days (John 2:19) rather than Jesus being accused of saying that he would build up (οἰκοδομέω) the temple in three days (Mark 14:58)). This technique parallels with Josephus' method where he presents Matthias speaking about country laws (Josephus, *Ant*. 12.271) rather than Jewish laws (LXX 1 Macc 2:27), and it also aligns with the author of the Gospel of Peter's method where the cross title reads 'King of Israel' (Gos. Pet. 4:11) rather than 'King of the Jews' (Mark 15:26; Matt 27:37; Luke 23:38; John 19:19) and where Jesus shouts 'My Power my Power, why have you left me?' (Gos. Pet. 5:19) rather than 'My God my God, why have you forsaken me?' (Mark 15:34; Matt 27:46). Finally, the fourth evangelist seems to transfer the words and actions from a character/s to another character/s (e.g. The Jewish authorities come to John (the Baptist) (John 1:19ff) rather than Jewish people (Mark 1:5), John identifies himself through an Isaiah citation (John 1:23) rather than the narrator identifying him through a composite Exodus, Malachi, and Isaiah citation (Mark 1:2-3), John sees the spirit descend on Jesus (John 1:32) rather than Jesus himself seeing the spirit descend (Mark 1:10b), John declares Jesus to be the Son of God (John 1:34) rather than God himself declaring Jesus to be his Son (Mark 1:11), John testifies to Jesus' first two disciples (John 1:36) rather than Jesus calling his first two disciples (Mark 1:16-17), Jesus' first two disciples testify to Jesus' second set of disciples (John 1:41-42, 45-46), rather than Jesus calling his second set of disciples (Mark 1:19-20), and Jesus' mother misunderstands Jesus' identity (John 2:3), rather that the Jewish people who support fasting misunderstanding his identity (Mark 2:18-20)).

iv. Transpositions – *The transposition of material from its original position in the source material*: For the most part, the fourth evangelist appears to follow the Markan order (Prologue, John the Baptist, disciples); however, he appears to slightly change the order of material by placing the Isaiah citation after the Elijah material (John 1:23) when in Mark it is positioned before (Mark 1:2-3). This technique reflects Plutarch's method of slightly rearranging the order in which the Athenian generals offer their opinions in the *Life of Nicias*. Additionally, the author of the fourth gospel also seems to notably change the order of events by moving the temple incident to near the beginning of his narrative (John 2:13-22) when it is near the end in Mark's gospel (Mark 11:15-19). This method aligns with Josephus and the author of

the Gospel of Peter's practice of moving material to an earlier position in their narratives, and Tacitus' practice of moving material to a later position in his narrative. This technique also parallels with Theon's suggestion of structural arrangement and rearrangement.

In the foregoing analysis it was also demonstrated that John's proposed adaptations to his Markan source can be accounted for in light of his wider authorial aims. It has been shown that the adapted material in chapters 1-2 reflects the material within the wider gospel and the material contributes to the following Johannine themes and motifs: Jesus as the embodiment of God's nature, Jesus' *signs* for the revelation of God, Jesus as the new Temple for the revelation of God, John as a witness, belief and unbelief, 'the Jews', discipleship in the fourth gospel, remembrance, and the author addressing the audience.

Therefore, this second part of the study has interpreted the relationship between John and Mark in light of ancient compositional practices. It has been shown that the similarities and notably the differences between the two gospels can be understood in light of John's likely use of adaptive techniques similar to those utilised by his literary contemporaries, rather than supposing that he drew on independent tradition whether that be oral or written.

Conclusion

The aim of this study

This study has sought to make a contribution to a perennial New Testament question. It has endeavoured to offer a new approach to understanding the relationship between the gospels of Mark and John. By situating the fourth gospel within its wider literary environment and aligning the fourth evangelist with various contemporaneous authors and texts, it has been proposed that the similarities and differences between the second and fourth gospels can be understood as the fourth evangelist's use of Mark and his utilisation of various compositional techniques common in ancient compositional practice.

The approach in this study has been influenced by the pioneering work undertaken in Synoptic studies whereby the relationship between the Synoptic gospels is analysed in light of ancient compositional practices. The approach has also been influenced by the work of Bauckham, who in a short study draws attention to the benefit of drawing on the methodological advances made by Synoptic scholars, and who in turn proposes that John's use of Mark should be analysed in light of ancient compositional practices.

The results of this study

This study has explored John's use of Mark in light of ancient compositional practices, particularly the way in which authors used written sources. Thus, the study was comparative in form and presented in two parts.

The first part of the study investigated the theory and practice of source use in the ancient world. As authors in the ancient world could use their sources in a variety of ways, from close coping to free adaptation, this part focused on texts which demonstrate the free adaptation of written source material as this method of source use seems to have the greatest affinity with John's likely use of the Markan source. In this regard, Barrett's observation that John uses Mark but uses it in a very different manner to the way that Matthew and Luke use the Markan source was noted alongside Bauckham and Kloppenborg's observations that the manner in which Matthew and Luke closely copy their source material was fairly uncommon in ancient compositional practice and it was more common for an author to freely adapt their source material. As a point of departure, this study began by exploring the theory of using written sources and freely adapting them as laid out in the pedagogical handbooks of the first century CE Greek rhetorician Theon and the first century Roman CE rhetorician Quintilian, and the study subsequently investigated the practice of using and subsequently adapting sources by the first century CE Greek biographer Plutarch, the first/second century CE Roman historian Tacitus, the first century CE Jewish historian Josephus, and second century CE early Christian

author of the Gospel of Peter. This analysis demonstrated that authors endeavoured to thoroughly rewrite their source material, sharing virtually no verbal agreements with their source, in order to create their own new piece of writing. Additionally, the analysis revealed a range of techniques utilised by these authors to freely adapt their source in order to achieve their intended goal. This data was collected and catalogued for use in the second part of the study.

The second part of the study explored John's use of Mark in the first two chapters of his gospel. Through a comparative analysis of the five pericopae within this section of text, the similarities and differences between John and Mark were established and were in turn explored in light of the fourth evangelist's possible adherence with ancient compositional practice and particularly his utilisation of various adaptive techniques similar to those presented in part one. Thus, responding to independence theories, this study put forward a case for the fourth evangelist's dependence upon the Markan gospel by understanding the similarities and differences as John's use and free adaptation of Mark, rather than assuming that they reflect the second and fourth evangelists' dependence upon independent written and/or oral material and traditions. Moreover, in this second part the study, John's adaptations to his Markan source were also accounted for in light of his wider authorial aims. It was demonstrated that the proposed changes made by the author of the fourth gospel to his Markan source in the first two chapters of his gospel align with the characterisation, themes, and motifs presented throughout the rest of the gospel. In line with the theories of source use set out in Theon and Quintilian's rhetorical handbooks and the practice of source use demonstrated in the works of Plutarch, Tacitus, Josephus, and in the Gospel of Peter, the fourth evangelist seems to draw on the gospel of his Markan predecessor and to utilise various adaptive methods to create his own new gospel.

Prospects for further research

This study has sought to utilise a new methodology for appreciating the relationship between John and the Synoptic gospels. However, this study has been limited to exploring only the relationship between John and Mark and then only the relationship between the material in the first two chapters of the fourth gospel and the comparable Markan material. Therefore, this methodology might be employed in further research for the exploration of other comparable Johannine and Markan material (e.g. John 6:1-59 // Mark 6:30-52 and 8:1-10 and John 18:1-20:29// Mark 14:1-16:8) and also for the exploration of the relationship between John and Matthew/Luke.

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